

THE HISTORICAL CHARACTER
of
THE FOURTH GOSPEL

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by

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To

W. F. K.

in profoundest admiration

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Preface.	i.
Outline and Table of Contents.	ii.
Chapter One.	1.
Introductory: The Problem	
Chapter Two.	35.
Some Characteristics of the Fourth Gospel	
Chapter Three.	63.
The Fourth Gospel and the World in Which it was Written	
Chapter Four	99.
The Leading Ideas of the Gospel	
Chapter Five	126.
The Fourth Evangelist's Method	
Chapter Six.	153.
The Fourth Evangelist's Method (Continued)	
Chapter Seven.	182.
A Spiritual Gospel	
Chapter Eight.	211.
The Fourth Evangelist's Philosophy of History	
Bibliography	237.

Preface.

The problem of the historical character of the Fourth Gospel is one of the most fascinating problems of New Testament study; it arises from the fact that in certain important respects the Fourth Evangelist's account of the life and teachings of Jesus of Nazareth differs from the Synoptic account.

It is not that the Johannine and Synoptic versions differ essentially in their conception of what Jesus was. The first word of the earliest Gospel is, "The beginning of the gospel of Jesus Christ, the Son of God" (Mark 1:1), and the last word of the latest Gospel is, "these [i.e., *σημεία*] are written, that ye may believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God..." (John 20:31). Nor do they differ essentially in their representation of what Jesus in the depths of his own soul considered himself to be. A study of the self-consciousness of Jesus either in the Synoptic tradition or in the Johannine Gospel reveals in him "unclouded fellowship and ethical solidarity with the Father"; no claim of Jesus as recorded in the Fourth Gospel exceeds, for example, this passage from the Synoptics: "All things have been delivered unto me of my Father: and no one knoweth the Son, save the Father; neither doth any know the Father, save the Son, and he to whomsoever the Son willeth to reveal him" (Matthew 11:27).

From the point of view of the self-consciousness of Jesus, then, all we could say of the historical character of the Fourth Gospel is that there is nothing to indicate that its various events might not have happened just as they are reported to have done. If Jesus was conscious of unique fellowship with God, as even the Synoptics indicate, there is no reason why he should not have said, "I and the Father are one", "I am the Vine", etc. But we should still have unanswered the question of why the Fourth Gospel lays such stress upon this "Christological egotism", or why the situations in which the Fourth Evangelist pictures Jesus as using such language are so different from the situations recorded by Matthew and Mark and Luke. It is granted that Jesus was conscious of unique relationship to God. But why do the Synoptics mention it so infrequently, the Fourth Gospel so constantly?

St. Paul tells us that "when the fulness of the time came, God sent forth his Son" (Galatians 4:4). The work of Jesus was, in the Providence of God, historically conditioned. He lived at a certain time and in a certain place. The works recorded in the Synoptic Gospels were dependent upon Jesus' contacts with the people of his own day. The writing down of them was also historically conditioned. Eyewitnesses were passing away; there was danger that men would forget the earthly life of Jesus and the reality of his human contacts. To prevent this, and in response to the needs of their own day, men wrote down what they had personally known about him and what eyewitnesses reported concerning him.

It is fair to assume that the Fourth Gospel too was historically conditioned, that God also sent it forth "when the fulness of the time came". It is generally agreed that the Fourth

Gospel was written a generation later than the Three. Accepting that result of New Testament criticism, I have in this dissertation sought to show the historical character of the Fourth Gospel as it is revealed in a comparison with the older tradition and as its peculiar emphasis was called forth by the time and place in which it was written.

The Fourth Evangelist has stamped his personality upon his Gospel as none of the other writers has. I have begun by examining his characteristic emphases and expressions as they are revealed in any careful reading of his book. Then I have placed side by side the Synoptic and Johannine versions of what are obviously the same events, and have sought to learn what the comparison has to teach us about how and why they differ. In the light of the information gained from these two sources, I have examined those sections of the Fourth Gospel which have to do with incidents not mentioned in the Synoptics. I have then attempted to view the Gospel in relation to the age that called it forth, with the result that its distinctive features seem to be in response to the demands of the time. I have then indicated the permanent service the Fourth Evangelist has done us in enabling us to view the life of Jesus in its relation to all times and all places.

So much for content. One or two matters of form require to be mentioned. Quotations from the English Bible are, unless otherwise indicated, from the American Standard Version. Where American spelling differs from British, the American has been preferred, with Webster's New International Dictionary as authority.

I have to thank Professors Curtis and Manson, of the faculty of the Post-Graduate School of Theology of the University of Edinburgh, for their kindness and help in conceiving, planning, and executing this work. My debt to them is larger than can be expressed in words.

J. C. S.

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Chapter One: Introductory: The Problem

- I. Introduction, pages 1,2.
 - A. The Fourth Gospel one of four sources for our knowledge of the life of Jesus, page 1.
 - B. What is the nature of its contribution? page 1.
- II. Differences between the Fourth Gospel and the Synoptics, pages 2-18.
 - A. In the ^{the events} reports of Jesus' life, page 2.
 1. Chronology differs, page 2.
 2. Materials of the life are not the same, page 3.
 - a. Omissions in the Fourth Gospel, page 3.
 - b. Extra-Synoptic material in the Fourth Gospel, page 4.
 - B. In Jesus' method, page 4.
 1. Parable vs. allegory, page 4.
 - a. παραβολή, page 4.
 - b. παροιμία, page 5.
 2. Summary of Jesus' Synoptic teaching, page 6.
 - a. Parables of God's love, page 6.
 - b. Parables of conduct of life, page 7.
 - c. Parables of the Kingdom, page 8.
 - i. Its growth, page 8.
 - ii. Its value, page 8.
 - iii. Its members, page 9.
 3. Absence of parables in the Fourth Gospel, p. 9.
 - C. In Jesus' attitude towards himself, page 10.
 1. Reticence of Jesus in the Synoptics contrasted with openness of his claims in the Fourth Gospel, page 10.
 2. Meekness of Jesus in the Synoptics contrasted with boldness in the Fourth Gospel, page 12.
 3. Jesus' claims for himself, page 13.
 - a. Makes himself equal with God, page 14.
 - b. Boasts of unique fellowship with God, p.15.
 - c. Asserts his own sinlessness, page 16.
 - d. Claims power of God, page 16.
 - e. Accepts worship, page 16.
 - f. Summary of claims, page 17.
- III. Solutions that have been offered, pages 18-30.
 - A. Enumeration of them:
 1. That the Fourth Evangelist is correcting the Synoptics, page 18.
 2. That the Fourth Evangelist is supplementing the Synoptics, page 20.
 - a. Multiplicity of incidents, page 21.
 - b. Two modes of teaching, page 22.
 3. That the Apostle's memory was at fault, p. 23.
 4. Partition theories, page 24.
 - a. Enumeration of them:

- i. Theory of Weisse, elaborated by Wendt, page 24.
 - ii. Theory of Strachan, page 26.
 - iii. Theory of Garvie, page 26.
 - b. Against the partition theories:
 - i. Disagreement of its advocates, p. 27.
 - ii. Unity of the Gospel, page 28.
 - iii. Possibility of accidental dislocations, page 28.
 - B. Their inadequacy, page 29.
- IV. The point of view from which we set out, pages 30-33.
 - A. Locus, page 32.
 - B. Date, page 32.
 - C. Authorship, page 33.

Chapter Two: Some Characteristics of the Fourth Gospel

- I. A certain mystical strain, pages 35-45.
 - A. The Mysticism of the Fourth Gospel defined, p. 35.
 - 1. It is not
 - a. A careful arrangement of the mystic way, page 36.
 - i. Theory of Miss Underhill, page 37.
 - ii. Against this, page 38.
 - b. An effusion of sex imagery, page 39.
 - 2. It is rather "the presence of God felt", p. 39.
 - B. The Mysticism of the Fourth Gospel is characterized by:
 - 1. A contemplative emphasis, page 40.
 - a. "Practical" aspect of Synoptics, p. 41.
 - b. "Practical" aspect of St. Paul, p. 42.
 - c. Absence of this in the Fourth Gospel, p. 43.
 - 2. Confusion of tense as regards eternal life, p. 43.
 - C. Appeal to the mystics, page 44.
- II. Presence of formulae, pages 45-48.
 - A. ἀμήν, ἀμήν, page 45.
 - B. ἐγώ εἰμι, page 46.
 - C. Three-fold repetitions, page 46.
 - D. Phrases of time and place, page 47.
 - E. Mould of discourse material, page 48.
- III. Interest in circumstantial details, pages 48-52.
 - A. Of people, page 48.
 - 1. Gives names of otherwise unknown persons, p. 48.
 - 2. Individualizes the Synoptic characters, p. 49.
 - B. Of time, page 50.
 - 1. The exact day, page 50.
 - 2. The exact hour, page 51.
 - C. Of place, page 51.
 - D. Other details, page 51.
- IV. Dramatic quality, pages 52-54.
 - A. Setting of the incidents, page 52.

- B. Grammatical structure, page 53.
- V. Other characteristics, pages 54-58.
 - A. Written with a purpose, page 54.
 - 1. "That ye may believe", page 54.
 - 2. Everything subordinated to this, page 55.
 - B. Views ministry of Jesus in larger perspective, p. 56.
 - C. Human interest, page 57.
- VI. Summary and conclusion, pages 59-62.
 - A. Summary, page 59.
 - B. Characters all speak alike, page 60.
 - C. Author's personality stamped on his work, p. 61.

Chapter Three

The Fourth Gospel and the World in Which it Was Written

- I. Hints that the Gospel is in some way adapted to this world, pages 63-67.
 - A. The Logos idea, page 63.
 - B. Not servants but friends, page 63.
 - C. Peculiar manner of referring to 'the Jews', p. 64.
 - D. Testimony of Irenaeus, page 65.
 - E. Popular quality of the language, p. 66.
 - 1. Theory of Canon Burney, p. 66.
 - 2. The KOINE, p. 67.
- II. The fulness of time, pages 67-70.
 - A. Religious ferment, page 68.
 - B. Ease of travel, page 68.
 - C. Universal language, page 69.
 - D. Alexander's destruction of provincialism, p. 70.
- III. Religions of the Graeco-Roman world, pages 70-95.
 - A. The philosophies of the day, page 70.
 - 1. The task of philosophy, page 71.
 - 2. Orphism, page 71.
 - 3. Stoicism, page 73.
 - B. The Judaism of the Diaspora, page 75.
 - 1. St. Paul, page 75.
 - 2. Palestinian rabbis, page 76.
 - 3. The Alexandrian School: Philo, page 77.
 - a. Philo's eclectic philosophy, p. 77.
 - b. Philo's purpose, page 77.
 - c. Difficulty faced by Philo, page 78.
 - d. The way out: allegory, page 79.
 - C. The mystery religions, page 82.
 - 1. Their origin, page 82.
 - 2. Enumeration of them:
 - a. Orphism, page 83.
 - b. Hermeticism, page 84.
 - c. Gnosticism, page 88.
 - 3. Influence of the mysteries on Christianity, page 91.
 - 4. Longings of the mysteries, page 92.
 - a. Individual salvation, page 92.

- b. A personal Savior, page 93.
 - c. Immortality, page 94.
- IV. Greek Ephesus, pages 95-98.
 - A. The problems of the Gospel localized, page 95.
 - B. Its commercial importance, page 95.
 - C. As a religious center, page 95.
 - D. The Gospel in Ephesus, page 96.
 - E. Summary, page 97.

Chapter Four: The Leading Ideas of the Gospel

- I. Logos, pages 99-106.
 - A. History of the term, page 99.
 - 1. Heraclitus' use of it, page 99.
 - 2. Stoics' use of it, p. 100.
 - 3. Logos among the Jews, p. 101.
 - a. In the Wisdom literature, p. 101.
 - b. The Word of God, page 102.
 - B. Philo's use of it, page 103.
 - C. Logos in the mysteries, page 105.
- II. Light, pages 106-116.
 - A. The Fourth Evangelist's use of the term, page 106.
 - 1. Light and darkness in his book, page 107.
 - 2. Light a symbol of Jesus' work, page 108.
 - B. Light in the mystery religions, page 108.
 - 1. Universal significance of the term, page 108.
 - 2. Use in Jewish religion, page 111.
 - 3. In Mithraism, page 111.
 - 4. In Orphism, page 112.
 - 5. In Hermeticism, page 112.
- III. Life, pages 116-122.
 - A. The Fourth Evangelist's use of the term, page 116.
 - 1. Replaces Kingdom of God, page 117.
 - 2. Jesus' ministry as 'Life', page 118.
 - 3. The supreme illustration of life, page 120.
 - B. 'Life' in the Mediterranean world, p. 120.
 - 1. Among the Jews, page 120.
 - 2. In the mysteries, page 121.
- IV. Other ideas, pages 122-125.
 - A. Truth, page 122.
 - 1. In the Fourth Gospel, page 123.
 - 2. In the mysteries, page 123.
 - B. Work, page 124.
 - 1. In the Fourth Gospel, page 124.
 - 2. In the mysteries, page 124.

Chapter Five: The Fourth Evangelist's Method

- I. Incidents he has in common with the Synoptics, pages 126-130.
 - A. The stilling of the tempest, page 126.
 - B. The feeding of the five thousand, page 126.
 - C. The anointing in Bethany, page 127.

- D. The healing of the man born blind, page 127.
 - 1. Jesus uses current means, page 128.
 - 2. Commonness of such cures, page 128.
- E. Cure of the nobleman's son, page 129.
- F. Other incidents, page 130.
- II. John the Baptist, pages 131-141.
 - A. The Fourth Evangelist's treatment of the Baptist, page 131.
 - 1. Emphasizes his inferiority, page 131.
 - 2. Jesus' own praise subdued, page 132.
 - 3. The Synoptics give a very different picture, page 132.
 - B. Jesus and John, page 133.
 - 1. Jesus a disciple of John, page 133.
 - 2. Jesus' message the same as John's, page 134.
 - 3. Influence of John' teaching on Jesus, page 134.
 - a. On salvation, page 134.
 - b. On sin, page 135.
 - c. The vine and the branches, page 135.
 - 4. Jesus approves of John's message, page 136.
 - 5. Jesus and John preach the coming of a mightier one, page 136.
 - 6. Both were wanderers, page 136.
 - 7. Men thought Jesus a reincarnation of John, page 137.
 - C. Reasons for the Fourth Evangelist's bias, page 138.
 - 1. The Baptist sect, page 138.
 - 2. Was John the Messiah? page 139.
 - 3. The Evangelist will not have John supercede Jesus, page 140.
- III. Composition of discourses, pages 141-152.
 - A. Study of the discourses:
 - 1. The Good Shepherd, page 141.
 - a. Sheep and shepherd in the Synoptics, page 141.
 - b. Development of this into Fourth Evangelist's allegory, page 142.
 - 2. The Vine and the branches, page 143.
 - a. Branches in Synoptics, page 143.
 - b. Development into Johannine allegory, p. 144.
 - c. Vine in the mysteries, p. 145.
 - 3. The Light of the World, p. 145.
 - B. The Evangelist's method, page 146.
 - 1. Allegories built around popular ideas, p. 147.
 - 2. Emphasizes spirit, not letter, page 147.
 - C. Analogies, p. 148.
 - 1. The Jewish rabbis, page 148.
 - 2. The poets, page 148.
 - 3. Ancient historians, page 149.
 - 4. The Old Testament prophets, page 150.
 - D. The problem of Christological egotism, page 151.
 - 1. Synoptic roots, page 151.
 - 2. Parallels in mysteries, page 152.

Chapter Six: The Fourth Evangelist's Method (Continued)

- I. As revealed in his chronology, pages 153-162.
 - A. Anachronisms in the Fourth Gospel, p. 153.
 1. *σημεῖα* at Jerusalem, p. 153.
 2. The anointing in Bethany, p. 153.
 3. Public appearances in Jerusalem, p. 153.
 4. Use of 'your law', p. 154.
 - B. Johannine vs. Synoptic chronology, p. 154.
 1. Length of ministry, p. 154.
 - a. Preference given to Johannine account by
 - i. Streeter, p. 154.
 - ii. Garvie, p. 155.
 - b. Number of visits to Jerusalem, p. 156.
 - i. Mt 23:37ff not decisive, p. 156.
 - ii. Silence of the Synoptics, p. 156.
 - iii. Early tradition, p. 157.
 2. Cleansing of the temple, p. 157.
 - a. Theory of two cleansings, p. 157.
 - b. Reasons why Fourth Evangelist might be expected to alter date, p. 158.
 - c. Probability of Synoptic date, p. 159.
 3. Teaching about the sacrament, p. 159.
 - a. Johannine date unlikely, p. 160.
 - b. A drama of humility, p. 160.
 4. Date of the Crucifixion, p. 160.
 - a. A much labored point, p. 161.
 - b. The Paschal Lamb, p. 161.
- II. As revealed in his use of extra-Synoptic material, pages 162-181.
 - A. The marriage feast in Cana, p. 162.
 1. Difficulties of the miracle, p. 162.
 2. "This beginning of signs", p. 163.
 3. Synoptic suggestions resembling the story, p. 164.
 4. Water and wine in the mysteries, p. 165.
 - B. Discourse with Nicodemus, p. 166.
 1. Possible origin in the Synoptics, p. 166.
 - a. "As little children", p. 166.
 - b. A Johannine dramatization, p. 166.
 - c. A quibbling lawyer, p. 167.
 2. Parallels in the mysteries, p. 167.
 - a. Rebirth, p. 167.
 - b. Baptism, p. 168.
 - C. The woman of Samaria, p. 169.
 1. Difficulties of the narrative, p. 169.
 - a. "The lost sheep of the house of Israel", p. 169.
 - b. Marks of improbability, p. 169.
 2. Reasons for constructing such a story, p. 170.
 - a. Illustrates the 'water of life', p. 170.
 - b. Illustrates the inferiority of Judaism, p. 171.
 - c. Illustrates the universality of Jesus, p. 171.

- i. Jew and Samaritan, p. 171.
 - ii. Jesus and a woman, p. 172.
 - (1) Treatment accorded women in the ancient world, p. 172.
 - (2) Jesus' finer treatment of them, p. 173.
 - d. Illustrates the spirituality of worship, p. 174.
- 3. Synoptic suggestions, p. 174.
- 4. Parallels in the mysteries, p. 175.
- D. Lazarus, p. 176.
 - 1. Difficulty of the miracle, p. 176.
 - a. Greater than Synoptic raisings, p. 176.
 - b. Synoptic silence, p. 177.
 - i. Importance assigned to the miracle in the Fourth Gospel, p. 177.
 - ii. Synoptic difficulty of finding evidence against Jesus, p. 177.
 - 2. Theories as to its origin:
 - a. Herder's theory, p. 178.
 - b. Streeter's theory, p. 179.
 - 3. Synoptic hints, p. 179.
 - a. The raising at Nain, p. 179.
 - b. The rich man and Lazarus, p. 179.
 - c. Jesus' friendship with Mary and Martha, p. 180.
 - 4. The supreme illustration of 'life', p. 180.
 - 5. Parallel in the mysteries, p. 180.

Chapter Seven: A Spiritual Gospel

- I. A spiritual Gospel, pages 182-192)
 - A. Two schools of history, p. 182.
 - B. Indications that the author is writing for the larger world, p. 183.
 - C. Histories which see things whole, p. 184.
 - D. Recognition that the Fourth Gospel belongs to the higher order of history, p. 185.
 - E. The Gospel of human experience, p. 187.
 - 1. Jesus as the Lord of Life, p. 187.
 - 2. This is historic fact, p. 188.
 - F. The author not a theologian but a mystic, p. 189.
 - G. His use of ideas from the mysteries, p. 189.
 - 1. To demonstrate the adaptability of Jesus, p. 189.
 - 2. To demonstrate the superiority of Jesus, p. 190.
 - a. 'Life', p. 190.
 - b. Exclusiveness, p. 190.
 - H. A miracle of adaptability, p. 192.
- II. Spiritual things, pages 193-197.
 - A. Love and fatherhood, p. 193.
 - B. The Heavenly Family, p. 193.
 - C. Eternal life, p. 194.

- E. The cosmopolitan Gospel, p. 195.
 - 1. Its universal appeal, p. 195.
 - 2. No Jewish exclusiveness, p. 196.
 - 3. A world outlook, p. 197.
- III. Things spiritualized, pages 198-201.
 - A. Apocalyptic, p. 198.
 - 1. Early hopes of the end of the age, p. 198.
 - 2. Absence of this in the Fourth Gospel, p. 198.
 - 3. Jesus has already come, p. 199.
 - B. The universe, p. 200.
 - 1. Demons in the Synoptics, p. 200.
 - 2. Demons in the mysteries, p. 200.
 - 3. Demons irrelevant in the Fourth Evangelist's universe, p. 201.
- IV. Non-spiritual things, pages 202-210.
 - A. Details, p. 202.
 - 1. Details in the Fourth Gospel are the details of a dramatist, p. 202.
 - 2. Amplitude of detail not characteristic of an eye-witness, p. 203.
 - 3. Mystics fond of details, p. 204.
 - B. Allegory vs. allegorical interpretation, p. 205.
 - 1. The Fourth Evangelist's use of symbolism, p. 205.
 - a. Guides to an understanding of it:
 - i. His use of the Old Testament, p. 205.
 - ii. Frankness and beauty of Synoptic symbolism, p. 206.
 - b. His allegories natural and dignified, p. 206.
 - 2. Alleged allegory, p. 206.
 - a. Origen and Clement and their successors, p. 206.
 - b. Things allegorized:
 - i. Characters, p. 207.
 - ii. Place names, p. 207.
 - iii. Numbers, p. 208.
 - (1) 153 fishes, p. 208.
 - (2) The tenth hour, p. 208.
 - (3) Five husbands, p. 209.
 - (4) 38 and 46 years, p. 209.
 - c. Not a recrudescence of Gnosticism, p. 210.

Chapter Eight: The Fourth Evangelist's Philosophy of History

- I. The Fourth Evangelist's philosophy of history, pages 211-216.
 - A. "In the beginning", p. 211.
 - B. What Jesus does in time God does in eternity, p. 212.
 - 1. The Gospel of God made manifest, p. 212.
 - 2. The life of Jesus a parable, p. 213.
 - 3. The work of Jesus an expression of God, p. 214.

- C. Superiority of Johannine Logos, p. 214.
 - 1. Over the Stoic Logos, p. 214.
 - 2. Over the Jewish Law, p. 215.
 - II. The Word Made Flesh, pages 216-227.
 - A. Position of the Logos in the Fourth Gospel, p. 216.
 - B. Human characteristics of the Johannine Jesus, p. 217.
 - 1. "A man", p. 217.
 - 2. Grew weary, etc., p. 218.
 - 3. A man of courage, p. 218.
 - a. At the beginning, p. 218.
 - b. In later life, p. 219.
 - c.
 - i. In dealing with a Samaritan, p. 219.
 - ii. In breaking the Sabbath, p. 219.
 - iii. In facing mobs, p. 220.
 - iv. Discretion, p. 220.
 - c. At the end, p. 221.
 - i. In going up to Jerusalem, p. 221.
 - ii. At the time of his arrest, p. 222.
 - iii. At the trial, p. 223.
 - 4. Tenderness, p. 224.
 - 5. His human heart, p. 225.
 - C. The temptation of Jesus, p. 225.
 - 1. Result of his having been made flesh, p. 225.
 - 2. "A man's foes shall be they of his own household", p. 226.
- III. The Person of Christ.
 - A. The Fourth Evangelist makes this the center of the Christian religion, p. 227.
 - B. A religion of the Spirit, p. 227.
 - 1. Deadening literalism in Judaism, p. 228.
 - 2. Possibility of literalism in use of the Synoptics, p. 228.
 - 3. Impossibility of this in dealing with the Fourth Evangelist's conception, p. 229.
 - C. It is the Person of Christ which matters, p. 229.
 - 1. It is the unique thing in Christianity, p. 230.
 - 2. It transcends all standards of comparison, p. 231.
 - 3. It is the center and source of Christian mysticism, p. 232.
 - D. A greater than John, p. 232.
 - E. A personality freed from the limits of time and space, p. 233.
 - F. The norm for human conduct, p. 235.
 - G. The basis of Christian unity, p. 236.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTORY: THE PROBLEM

I.

The Fourth Gospel is one of the only four sources we have for our knowledge of the life of Jesus of Nazareth. There are, to be sure, brief references to Jesus in Pliny,^{1.} Tacitus,^{2.} and Josephus,^{3.} and St. Paul has rescued one or two of his sayings and made several allusions to his earthly life. While these confirm the truthfulness of the Gospel narratives, they ~~make little contribution~~ ^{add nothing} to our knowledge of the subject. If we wish to go beyond the mere fact that Jesus lived in Palestine, died a criminal's death upon a cross, and left behind him a group of followers who were convinced that he had risen from the dead, we must look to the four Gospels for all of our material.

The Fourth Evangelist never claimed that he was writing a history. Luke tells us that he "traced the course of all things accurately from the first," in order that Theophilus might "know the certainty concerning the things" wherein he was instructed.^{4.} The Fourth Evangelist nowhere states that he has engaged in such historical re-

1. Book X, Letter 97. 2. Annales, XV, 44.
3. Antiquities of the Jews, Bk. XVIII, ch. 3, sec. 3. The reference in Josephus is thought by some to be a later Christian gloss; see Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics, vol. VII, p. 577f. For a discussion of all these references see Maurice Goguel: Jesus the Nazarene--Myth or History, ch. II: The Non-Christian Testimony.

4. Luke 1:3f; cf. Acts 1:1f.

search; he merely tells us that "these (i.e., σημεία) are written, that ye may believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God; and that believing ye may have life in his name"¹. The present dissertation is an attempt to define the nature of the contribution the Fourth Gospel makes to our knowledge of Jesus of Nazareth.

That this contribution is in some way different from the Synoptic contribution is evidenced by the very existence of the term 'Synoptic'. The first ~~three~~ Gospels give one general and more or less unified view of the life of our Lord. But there are some things in the Fourth Gospel which can by no harmonistic expedient be fitted into the Synoptic scheme. Let us define as sharply as we can the issue between the Fourth Gospel and the Synoptics.

II.

First of all, the ^{succession of events in} ~~facts of~~ Jesus' life ~~are~~ not the same in the Fourth Gospel as ~~they are~~ in the Synoptics. In the latter Jesus goes up to Jerusalem only once, at the time of the final clash with the authorities; in the former he makes frequent visits to the Holy City. In the one Jesus undergoes a long period of temptation before

1. 20:31.

He enters upon his work; in the other, not only does the chronological scheme allow no place for the wilderness experience, but also Jesus is a creature too lofty to be tempted. In the one Jesus is fairly started in his ministry before he calls disciples; in the other disciples attach themselves to him from the very outset. In the one he, with righteous indignation, drives out the money-changers from his Father's house during his last week on earth; in the other the cleansing of the temple comes at the very beginning of the ministry.

Not only is there this difference in the chronology of the life of our Lord, but the materials of the life are not the same. We search the Fourth Gospel in vain for mention of some of the most important events in the earthly career of Jesus. Matthew and Luke relate several wonders and many circumstantial details concerning the birth of Jesus; the Fourth Evangelist never mentions it. For him, Jesus is like Melchizedek, without father or mother: he steps upon the stage as an actor who plays a part--you see only the actor; you know nothing of his background or training. In the one the ministry of Jesus begins with his baptism by John; in the other, not only is the Baptist not allowed the honor, but there is no hint that Jesus ever underwent this rite which, ^{as applicable to both sexes, had} in later Judaism, ~~had~~ ^{largely} come ^{to}

~~TAKE~~ ^{as the requirement for entrance into Judaism.*} the place of circumcision.^A Other significant features of the life of Jesus omitted by the Fourth Evangelist are: the message of John the Baptist from prison, the Sermon on the Mount, the sending out of the disciples, the sacramental meal at the end of Jesus' life, the suffering in the Garden, Simon of Cyrene, the cries of agony from the cross. On the other hand, much that is included in the Fourth Gospel has no parallel in the Synoptics: the turning of the water into wine, the colloquy with the woman of Samaria, the infirm man at the pool of Bethesda, the raising of Lazarus.

Far more serious than any of these divergences is the difference in the method of Jesus. In the Synoptics Jesus speaks in simple parables; in the Fourth Gospel he uses long and involved allegories. The Synoptics record no allegories, the Fourth Gospel no parables. In spite of ^{1.} the strange reason assigned for the use of parables, this literary form was so frequently on Jesus' lips that Matthew says, "Without a parable spake he nothing unto them".^{2.} From the Fourth Gospel we should never suspect that Jesus ever used a parable.

The word *παραβολή* occurs 48 times in the Synoptics, not once in the Fourth Gospel.^{3.} The word 'parable'

* Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible, vol. I, p. 240.

1. Matthew 13:11ff.

2. Matthew 13:34.

3. cf. Weymouth: The New Testament in Modern Speech, 3rd edition, page 271, note 2.

1.
does indeed occur in some English versions at John 10:6, but it is a translation of quite a different Greek word, **παροιμία**, which in John 16:25,29 is translated 'proverb' by AV, 'dark sayings' by the Revisers.

The Revisers, since they never use 'allegory', make no distinction between allegory and proverb. The Synoptic **παραβολή** (from **παραβάλλω**) means a placing of one thing beside another for the purpose of comparison. But, because it is used to translate the Hebrew **מָשָׁל**, which includes proverbs as well as parables, it is sometimes applied in the Synoptics to what we should call a proverb; as, for example, the proverbial taunt, "Physician, heal thyself,"^{2.} is called **παραβολή**. **παραβολή** occurs outside the Synoptics in Hebrews 9:9 and 11:19. There it is translated by the Revisers 'figure'--it seems rather to be 'prototype' or 'foreshadowing': the tabernacle, while it stands, is a **παραβολή**^{3.} of the more spiritual worship which is to come. Abraham's receiving Isaac again was a **παραβολή**^{4.} of receiving him from the dead.

5.
The Johannine word **παροιμία** is from **παρ' οἴμον** --something said 'by the way'. **παροιμία** occurs elsewhere in the New Testament only in II Peter 2:22, where

1. AV and RV; RV margin has 'proverb'; Moffatt renders 'allegory', Weymouth 'figurative saying'.

2. Luke 4:23; cf. Luke 5:36.

3. Hebrews 9:9.

4. Hebrews 11:19.

5. John 16:25,29.

it introduces a saying from Proverbs 26:11, and is translated 'proverb'. Because of this difference in usage, then, we have to look to the respective literary forms for the key to their difference, rather than to the terms used of them in the Gospels.

The parable is "a short fictitious narrative embodying a moral".¹ A parishioner once made the following criticism of one of William Carey's pulpit exercises:

"Brother Carey, you have no likes in your sermons. Christ taught that the kingdom of heaven was like to leaven hid in meal, like to a grain of mustard seed, etc. You tell us what things are, but never what they are like."² In the Synoptics Jesus tells us what things are like. A brief summary of Jesus' Synoptic teaching may help us better to understand this literary device.

A number of his parables are parables of God's love. God is as willing to receive back his wandering sons as was the father of the Prodigal (Luke 15:11ff), and those whom He forgives the most may be expected to love Him the most (Luke 7:41ff). Not content merely to forgive men when they return, God Himself has gone out to seek them. He is like the Good Shepherd (Luke 15:3ff, Matthew 18:12ff) who,

1. Webster's Collegiate Dictionary, s. v.

2. J. H. Morrison: William Carey, p. 33f.

though ninety and nine of his sheep are safe, will not rest until the hundredth is safe within the fold, and like a woman who spares no search until her lost coin is found (Luke 15:8ff). The parable of the laborers who received as much for one hour's work as the others did for bearing the burden and heat of the day (Matthew 20:1ff), while difficult of interpretation, seems to mean that God is never less than just and may, out of the riches of His grace, bestow undeserved blessings.

Another group of parables deals with the conduct of life. Life is to be built upon a rock, not upon the sands (Matthew 7:24f; Luke 6:48f). Men must use the talents which are given them, else will be taken away from them even that which they have (Matthew 25:14ff; Luke 19:12ff). Men whose only interest is in material things lose their souls, like the rich farmer who tore down his barns to build greater (Luke 12:16ff). They will find in the future world, as did the rich man and Lazarus (Luke 16:19ff), that the unequal conditions of the present world are apt to be reversed. Men are to be so filled with brotherliness and the spirit of good will that, like the good Samaritan (Luke 10:30ff), they may transcend the barriers of race, nationality and prejudice. God, like a king reckoning with his servants (Matthew 18:21-35), has forgiven men so much that

they ought freely to forgive each other. In their attitude towards God men are to be humble as the publican, rather than haughty like the Pharisee (Luke 18:9-14). In prayer they are to be as persevering as the importunate widow (Luke 18:2-8).

The largest group of parables are parables of the kingdom. The kingdom is to be of slow growth. It will be "like a grain of mustard seed" (Mark 4:31f; Matthew 13:31f; Luke 13:19) and like a bit of leaven gradually working its way through the whole lump (Matthew 13:33; 16:6,12; Luke 13:21), and with the leaven of the kingdom Jesus contrasts the leaven of the Pharisees (Luke 12:1). The preaching of the kingdom will meet with different receptions among men, as seed sown on different kinds of soil (Matthew 13:1-9, 18-23; Mark 4:1-9, 13-20; Luke 8:4-8, 11-15). Enemies may sow tares (Matthew 13:24-30), but the ultimate triumph is certain. There will be a sorting of the good and the bad, as of things drawn up in a net dropped into the sea at a venture (Matthew 13:47-50).

The kingdom is the most valuable thing: it is like a treasure hid in a field (Matthew 13:44), or a pearl of great price (Matthew 13:45f). Yet it may be very hard to get into: rich men may find it as impossible as for a camel to go through a needle's eye (Mark 10:25; Matthew 19:24). Before one enters he ought to take account of this; like the

builder of a tower (Luke 14:28ff), he must reckon up the cost. Membership in the kingdom requires decision: the people who slight the king's invitation (Luke 14:16ff; Matthew 22:2ff) or mistreat the king's servants (Luke 20:9ff) will be cut off. It requires thoughtful preparation: the virgins who neglected their oil were not admitted (Matthew 25:1ff). Once admitted, there is to be no trifling: "No man, having put his hand to the plow, and looking back, is fit for the kingdom of God" (Luke 9:62).

Members of the kingdom are to be different from other people: they are to be the salt of the earth (Mark 9:49f; Matthew 5:13; Luke 14:34) and the light of the world (Matthew 5:14). Men who would spread the kingdom must be like a "householder who bringeth forth out of his treasure things new and old" (Matthew 13:52). In short, the kingdom of heaven is to be the society of the child-like (Matthew 18:2ff; 19:13f; Luke 9:47f; 18:15ff; Mark 10:13-16).

Thus it will be seen that practically all of Jesus' teaching in the Synoptics is by parable. His parables deal with God, man and the kingdom. In the Fourth Gospel, on the other hand, not only, as we shall see presently, is the subject matter different, but also Jesus is represented as using an entirely different vehicle for the conveying of truth. Himself is the subject of the Johannine teaching, and allegory the method. Jesus proclaims himself the Good

Shepherd, the True Vine, the Door of the Sheep, etc. The allegory differs from the parable in this: the parable is told to illustrate one point; the other features are usually irrelevant and to be disregarded. In the allegory, on the other hand, every detail has meaning; see, for example, the allegory of the Vine and the Branches¹, where every smallest part is as significant as are the details in Pilgrim's Progress. The curious thing about it is that of this true allegory there is none in the Synoptics. What are we to believe about them? Are we to believe that Jesus spoke these allegories, or that the Fourth Evangelist composed them? If Jesus had used allegory as much as the Fourth Evangelist indicates, how could the Synoptists have omitted all mention of it?

Finally, we have to note as the most serious difference between the Fourth Gospel and the Synoptics a difference in Jesus' own attitude towards himself--and this is really the crux of the matter. In the Synoptics Jesus is the quiet, unobtrusive teacher who went about doing good; in the Fourth Gospel he is the visitor from another world who, with grand hauteur, invites people to the recognition of his own greatness. He sometimes seems unsympathetic and repellent; he has little patience with "the Jews". He holds himself aloof from them and when he does

1. John 15: 1-5.

deign to reply, it is in language which untutored folk^{1.} could hardly be expected to understand. In the Synoptics the miracles are prompted by compassion; in the Fourth Gospel they are done to "manifest His glory".

In the Synoptics Jesus is very reticent about asserting, or even acknowledging, his Messiahship. Not until the end does he make any claim to the Messianic office, and then he does so, not in words, but in an acted parable. For the triumphal entry he chooses to ride upon an ass, "that it might be fulfilled which was spoken through the prophet, saying,

Tell ye the daughter of Zion,
Behold, thy King cometh unto thee,
Meek, and riding upon an ass,^{2.}
And upon a colt the foal of an ass."

~~Not only does the Fourth Evangelist omit the story of the~~
The Fourth Evangelist, on the other hand,
~~triumphal entry, but he~~ makes Jesus at the very beginning of his career claim Messiahship for himself. When the woman of Samaria mentioned the Christ, "Jesus saith unto her, I that speak unto thee am he" (4:26). Throughout the Fourth Gospel, Jesus is very bold in proclaiming himself the expected Messiah. To the Jews who trust in sacred writings he says, "if ye believed Moses, ye would believe me; for he wrote of me" (5:46). When the man born blind asks who is the Son of God, "Jesus said unto him, Thou hast both seen

1. E.g., 5:19; 6:52ff; etc.

2. Matthew 21:4f.

him, and he it is that speaketh with thee" (9:37).

This is in striking contrast to the Jesus of the Synoptic Gospels, who is extremely reticent about making claims for himself, and is very shy even about letting his deeds be made known.¹ When he healed the leper, he "saith unto him, See thou say nothing to any man" (Mk 1:44; cf. Mt 8:4; Lu 5:4). During the early days of his increasing popularity, when he healed many that had "plagues" (Mk 3:10), "he charged them much that they should not make him known" (Mk 3:12; cf. Mt 12:16). Upon the raising of Jairus' daughter, "he charged them much that no man should know this" (Mk 5:43). When he healed the two blind men, he "strictly charged them, saying, See no man know it" (Mt 9:30). When he loosed the tongue and unstopped the ears of the man who was deaf and had an impediment in his speech, "he charged them that they should tell no man" (Mk 7:36). After Peter's great confession, well along in the ministry, "he charged them that they should tell no man of him" (Mk 8:30; cf. Mt 16:20; Lu 9:21). Even following the Transfiguration, "he charged them that they should tell no man what things they had seen" (Mk 9:9; cf. Mt 17:9).

In the Synoptics Jesus talks a great deal about meekness and humility: "Blessed are the meek: for they shall

1. Reimarus said that Jesus enjoined silence about the miracles "with the sole purpose of making people more eager to talk of them"--Schweitzer: Quest of the Historical Jesus, page 19.

inherit the earth" (Mt 5:5). "Whosoever therefore shall humble himself as this little child, the same is the greatest in the kingdom of heaven" (Mt 18:4). "For everyone that exalteth himself shall be humbled; and he that humbleth himself shall be exalted" (Lu 14:11). "Ye know that they which are accounted to rule over the Gentiles lord it over them; and their great ones exercise authority over them. But it is not so among you: but whosoever would become great among you, shall be your minister: and whosoever would be first among you, shall be servant of all" (Mk 10:42-44; cf. Mt 20:25-27).

This sounds not at all like the Jesus of the Fourth Gospel, where the single injunction to humility is by example rather than by precept (cf. 13:3-16), and where Jesus boldly asserts his own superiority: "Ye are from beneath; I am from above: ye are of this world; I am not of this world" (8:23). Time after time he makes great claims for himself. Following the feeding of the five thousand, he says, "I am the bread of life" (6:35; cf. 6:48,51). At the feast he says, "If any man thirst, let him come unto me and drink" (7:37b). He says also, "I am the way, and the truth, and the life" (14:6); "I am the true vine" (15:1; cf. 15:5); "I am the good shepherd" (10:11); "I am the door of the sheep" (10:7); "I am the light of the world" (8:12; cf. 9:5; 12:46); "I am the resurrection, and the life" (11:25).

A few statistics, taken mainly from Abbott's "Johan-

nine Vocabulary", will perhaps bring this out better than any number of isolated quotations. $\epsilon\gamma\acute{\omega}$ (including $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\gamma\acute{\omega}$) occurs sixteen times in Mark, thirty-seven times in Matthew,^{1.} twenty-five times in Luke, 155 times in the Fourth Gospel.
 "I speak" ($\lambda\alpha\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\omega$) occurs not at all in Mark, once each in Matthew and Luke, around thirty times in the Fourth Gospel.^{2.}
 $\epsilon\dot{\iota}\mu\acute{\iota}$ occurs four times in Mark, fourteen times in Matthew,^{3.} sixteen times in Luke, fifty-four times in the Fourth Gospel.
 $\epsilon\gamma\acute{\omega} \epsilon\dot{\iota}\mu\iota$ -- "I am he" (i.e., Christ) occurs twice in Mark, once in Matthew, once (?) in Luke, nine times in the Fourth Gospel.^{4.}
 "My" or "mine" ($\epsilon\mu\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$, not including $\mu\omicron\upsilon$) occurs in Mark twice, in Matthew five times, in Luke three times, in the Fourth Gospel thirty-seven times.^{5.} "Myself" ($\epsilon\mu\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon, -\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$) occurs not at all in Mark, once in Matthew, twice in Luke, sixteen times in the Fourth Gospel.^{6.} "In the former instances (Mt 8:9, Luke 7:7,8), "the centurion uses the word 'myself', and it occurs nowhere else in Mt.-Lk. In Jn it occurs always in words of Christ about himself."^{7.} "Own" (ἴδιος) occurs once in Mark, four or five times in Matthew, four times in Luke,^{8.} fifteen times in the Fourth Gospel.

On one occasion the Jews took up stones to stone him;

1. op. cit., p. 205. 2. ib., p. 228. "The numbers include the first pers. sing. of any tense of $\lambda\alpha\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\omega$ in Christ's words."
 3. ib., 205. 4. ib., p. 205.
 5. ib., 213. 6. ib., p. 213.
 7. ib., p. 213, note 3. 8. ib., p. 216.

their reason for doing so, they said, was "that thou, being a man, makest thyself God" (10:33). And in the Fourth Gospel Jesus is constantly making himself equal with God. He claims pre-existence for himself: "Before Abraham was born, I am" (8:58). "And now, Father, glorify thou me with thine own self with the glory which I had with thee before the world was" (17:5); "for thou lovedst me before the foundation of the world" (17:24b). "He that sent me" (ὁ πέμψας) occurs not at all in the^{1.} Synoptics, twenty-six times in the Fourth Gospel.

Throughout his earthly career, Jesus boasts of unique fellowship^w with God: "I know him; because I am from him, and he sent me" (7:29). "And he that sent me is with me; he hath not left me alone" (8:29); "for I came forth and am come from God" (8:42). Especially does this come out in his high priestly prayer, when his work on earth is well nigh finished and he is bidding farewell to the world: "for the words which thou gavest me I have given unto them; and they received them, and knew of a truth that I came forth from thee, and they believed that thou didst send me" (17:8); "that they may all be one; even as thou, Father, art in me, and I in thee, that they may also be in^{us}: that the world may believe that thou didst send me" (17:21). "O righteous Father, the world knew thee not, but I knew thee" (17:25).

1. Abbott: Johannine Vocabulary, p. 226.

In view of this perfect fellowship with God, we are not surprised to find Jesus asserting his own sinlessness: "The prince of this world cometh: and he hath nothing in me" (14:30). "Which of you convicted me of sin?" (8:46). Loisy¹ goes so far as to say, "the Johannine Christ prays in order to expound the thesis of the Evangelist....; he prays for the sake of the gallery, for he prays to the Father only to provoke faith in his own person."

The Jesus of the Fourth Gospel claims also to be able to do the things God does. He promises that when he goes away he will send the Comforter (16:7). In his high priestly prayer, he testifies as to the ability of the Son that "he should give eternal life" (17:2). He claims that fellowship with him will result in answered prayer: "If ye abide in me, and my words abide in you, ask whatsoever ye will, and it shall be done unto you" (15:7). "If ye ask anything of the Father, he will give it you in my name" (16:23).

Jesus accepts worship without any reserve whatever. The man who was born blind said, "Lord, I believe. And he worshipped him" (19:38). Jesus says to the disciples, "Ye call me Teacher and Lord, and ye say well; for so I am" (13:13). After the resurrection, Thomas exclaims, "My Lord and my God. Jesus saith unto him, Because thou hast seen me, thou hast believed: blessed are they that have not seen and yet have believed" (20:28).

1. Quoted by Macgregor, p. 252.

IN short, "The Son can do nothing of himself, but what he seeth the Father doing: for what things soever he doeth, these the Son also doeth in like manner. For the Father loveth the Son, and showeth him all things that himself doethFor as the Father raiseth the dead and giveth them life, even so the Son also giveth life to whom he will. For neither doth the Father judge any man, but he hath given all judgment unto the Son; that all may honor the Son, even as they honor the Father" (5:19-23).

Not only does the Jesus of the Fourth Gospel claim to be able to do the same things God does, and accept worship that is due only to God, but he actually asserts his equality with God: "Holy Father, keep them in thy name which thou hast given me, that they may be one, even as we are" (17:11). "And the glory which thou hast given me I have given unto them; that they may be one, even as we are one" (17:22); "if ye knew me, ye would know my Father also" (8:19). In his discourse at the feast of dedication, he says, "I and the Father are one" (10:30), and later he prays, "all things that are mine are thine, and thine are mine" (17:10).

What are we to make of this Christological egotism?

~~A question which has been asked in the past, "Why is it that Jesus talked so much about himself? You have taught us not to talk about ourselves."~~ It is almost entirely in the Fourth Gospel that Jesus does talk about himself. Are we to

believe that the historical Jesus actually did speak in this way, rather than as he is reported to have done in the three Synoptic Gospels?

III.

Such are the problems that confront us in an effort to determine the historical character of the Fourth Gospel. The Fourth Gospel gives us quite a different picture from that of the three. There have been, in the history of criticism, several convenient devices for explaining this difference and solving these problems. It has been argued that the Fourth Evangelist is correcting the Synoptics and is to be preferred where he differs from them. Others have held that the Fourth Evangelist intended his work merely to supplement that of the Synoptists, relating about Jesus such things as they for any reason omitted. Others have said that the Fourth Gospel contained the faulty recollections of an aged Apostle. Others, more recently, have sought to break the Gospel up into strata, and find that its picture of Jesus is due to the fact that many hands went into its composition. Let us take up these solutions in the order named.

Some believe that the Fourth Evangelist was deliberately seeking to correct and improve the Synoptic account of the life of our Lord. Where the Fourth Evangelist differs from the Synoptists, then, it has been held that he, writing later than they, had more trustworthy information and

meant to correct them. Moffatt, for example, says that^{1.}
 "the author of the Fourth Gospel is frequently concerned to
 balance one of the synoptists against another as well as to
 correct all three."^{2.} Bernard thinks that in certain points
 the Fourth Gospel represents a more primitive tradition than^{3.}
 the Synoptics. Lord Charnwood believes that the Fourth
 Evangelist is correcting Mark and is to be preferred where
 he differs from him.

Some feel that this difference is so acute as to
 be irreconcilable, and that for a correct picture of Jesus
 we have to accept either the Synoptic or the Johannine ac-
 count. Johann Gottfried Herder was the first to hold "that
 the life of Jesus can be construed either according to the
 Synoptists, or according to John, but that a Life of Jesus
 based on the four Gospels is a monstrosity."^{4.} Accordingly,
 he wrote two lives of Jesus: "Vom Erlöser der Menschen. Nach
 unsern drei ersten Evangelien", 1796, and "Von Gottes Sohn,
 der Welt Heiland. Nach Johannes Evangelium", 1797. And it
 is still possible for Vacher Burch, Lecturer in Theology,
 Liverpool Cathedral, and Cathedral School of Divinity, writ-
 ing in 1928, to say that the Fourth Gospel was written by
 the Apostle John before the other Gospels, prior to 70 A.D.,
 "near to the time of the Crucifixion",^{5.} that it narrates the

1. Introduction, p.534. 3. According to John, pp. 97ff.
 2. International Critical Commentary on John, vol. I, p.
 xciv. 4. Schweitzer: Quest of the Historical Jesus, p.35.
 5. The Structure and Message of St. John's Gospel, p.228.

life of Jesus in its actual sequence, and that the Fourth Gospel is a trustworthy record of the earthly movements of^{1.} of our Lord: "it is," he says, "a brilliantly careful and direct record of what Jesus was and said." What "should be done is to straighten out the seeming temporal inaccuracies of the first three Gospels by the help of the chronology^{2.} which gives precision to the Gospel of John."

Others, of a more harmonistic turn of mind, contend that the Fourth Evangelist was concerned only to supplement the Synoptics. For that reason he omitted many of the facts of Jesus' life which were already familiar to the^{3.} Christian community. Chrysostom says, concerning the miracles, "part some have left for the others to relate, part all have passed over in silence." Charnwood argues that there was no need for a new life of Jesus--the world already had three: "this (ie., the Fourth) Gospel is written, so to^{4.} speak, on the top of St. Mark." This, the conservative position, is well summed up in a sentence from Sanday's^{5.} "The Criticism of the Fourth Gospel": "The externals of the Lord's Life he (i.e., the Fourth Evangelist) recognized as having been adequately told; but it was just the profoundest teaching and some of the most significant acts that had es-

1. The Structure and Message of St. John's Gospel, p. 213.

2. ib., p. 220.

3. Homilies on St. John, vol. I, p. 144.

4. According to John, p. 89. 5. Page 218.

caped telling, and that he himself desired to rescue from oblivion."

On this theory, then, in cases of apparent conflict of statement, we are assured that there really is no conflict, but that the reports are of different incidents. Osiander (1498-1552), in his 'Harmony of the Gospels', maintained the principle that if an event is recorded more than once in the Gospels, in different connections, it happened more than once and in different connections. We have noted^{1.} the divergence between the Fourth Gospel and the Synoptics as to the date of the cleansing of the temple. The solution on this principle is that there were two cleansings, one at the beginning, one at the end of the ministry. Two critics so far removed as John Chrysostom and Bishop Westcott, to mention no others, both accept two cleansings.

Some have gone so far as to assert that Jesus had two methods of teaching: the Fourth Gospel describes one, the Synoptics the other. This was the explanation~~d~~ adopted by Hase in his Geschichte Jesu (1876): "Once there appeared on earth a heavenly Being. According to His first three biographers He goes about more or less incognito, in the long garment of a Rabbi, a forceful popular figure, somewhat Judaic in speech, only occasionally, almost unmarked by his biographers, pointing with a smile beyond this brief inter-

L. Supra, p. 3.

lude to His home. In the description left by His favorite disciple, He has thrown off the talar of the Rabbi, and^{1.} stands before us in His native character."

This is the explanation offered by some for the difference in Jesus' method. We cannot believe that Jesus both spoke in parables and that he did not, nor that he spoke in allegories and that he did not. But we can believe that he used both, and that the Fourth Gospel records one, the Synoptics another of his methods. This was the solution of Bahrtdt and Venturini, who explained that Jesus had two methods of teaching: one exoteric, simple, for the multitudes; the other esoteric, mystical, for the initiates into the Essene order, of which they believe Jesus to have been a member. It is, of course, the former which we have in the Synoptics, the latter in the Fourth Gospel which "seems to have preserved for us the greater part of the secret teaching^{2.} imparted to the initiate." This position is maintained latterly by Vacher Burch, who, as we have seen, prefers the Johannine to the Synoptic chronology. He says that parables^{4.} were used by Jesus "when He was among men and not when He^{3.}

1. Schweitzer: op. cit., p. 214.

2. ib., p. 42.

3. Supra, p. 19f.

4. It is Burch's theory that the calendar of the Jewish year is the scheme on which the Fourth Gospel is built; for each festival there is an incident and teaching showing the "antithesis between Christ's revelation and the....fundamental ideas and practices of the Jewish cult"--The Structure and Message of St. John's Gospel, p. 70.

was doing His work as Revealer at festival-times in Jerusalem.^{1.} Hitchcock explains that "In the Synoptic Gospels are enshrined the village sermons and homilies of the Master to the countryfolk and fishermen of Galilee, set off with word-pictures and illustrations that were calculated to impress their simple minds; while in the Gospel according to St. John we have the substance of the teaching of Jesus in His private interviews and in His conversations with His disciples." The more one tries to believe this, the more impossible it is seen to be. It makes Jesus a sort of Janus, and ascribes to his teaching a complexity which seems scarcely in keeping with his character. We must have some other explanation of the fact that in the Synoptics Jesus speaks always in parables, in the Fourth Gospel he always refrains from parables.

Still another explanation of the difference between the Fourth Gospel and the Synoptics is a kindly allowance for the uncertainties of advancing age. Certain writers^{2.} --B. Weiss, for example--who were concerned to defend the Apostolic authorship, said that the discrepancies were due to the fact that, owing to advanced age, the Apostle's memory was at fault. Renan (1863) said of the Apostle John that "when as an old man he read the other Gospels, he was dis-

1. F. R. M. Hitchcock: A Fresh Study of the Fourth Gospel, London: S. P. C. K., 1911; page 30f.

2. See Stanton: The Gospels as Historical Documents, p. 210.

PLEASED BY certain inaccuracies, and perhaps vexed that he was given so small a place in the history. He began to dictate a number of things which he had better means of knowing than the others; partly, too, with the purpose of showing that in many cases where Peter only had been mentioned he also had played a part, and indeed the principal part. Sometimes his recollection was quite fresh, sometimes it had^{1.} been modified by time."

One has but to enumerate these solutions to demonstrate their inadequacy; to put them down in black and white is to create a reduction~~is~~ ad absurdum. To say that we have to choose between the Fourth Gospel and the Synoptics is to deny that something within us which testifies that somehow both of them are true. To posit a multiplicity of incidents is rather too easy a way out of the difficulty. To say that the one supplements the other is not satisfying--we want to know why, if Jesus did use the two methods, neither tradition gives a hint of the other. To apologize for the author's failing memory is a desperate expedient.

The modern partition theories take quite a different like. The discovery of several documents imbedded in the Old Testament was a key that worked so well that men thought it should also unlock the hidden things of the Fourth Gospel. Weisse put forward the suggestion that the Fourth Evangelist

1. Schweitzer: op. cit., p. 182f.

was making use of an earlier written source, memoirs of the^{1.} Apostle John. The idea was elaborated by Wendt, who believed that it held true especially for the long discourses. The source, he thought, "contained discourses and conversations of Jesus, and therefore, as regards the matter recorded in it,^{2.} substantially resembled the Logia of Matthew". The author of the source,^{3.} he holds, is also the author of the Epistles of John. All that the evidence of Polycarp and Papias proves is that the author of the source--not the Fourth Evangelist--was regarded as a Christian authority. The author of the source was "an immediate witness of the earthly ministry^{4.} of Jesus"; the Fourth Evangelist was "a secondary historian".

The historical notices in the source at no point^{5.} contravene, but rather consistently supplement, the Synoptics. But the main part of the source is discourse. "When these discourses are once liberated from the construction which the Fourth Evangelist, by means of his narrative framework and scattered interpolations, has forced upon them, they may be taken unreservedly as utterances of the historic Jesus, such^{6.} as the synoptic sources reveal Him." The Gospel as we have it, then, "is the subapostolic redaction of an apostolic tra-^{7.}dition." "Without suspecting it they (i.e., the redactors)

1. St. John's Gospel, pp. 52-107.

2. ib., p. 166.

3. ib., p. 175.

4. ib., p. 211.

5. p. 186.

6. ib., p. 206.

7. ib., p. 235.

read their own ideas into the words of the apostle, and merged the historical information which they received from the apostle into the historical presentment which they had formed upon a different evangelical tradition" (page 238).

Present day advocates of the partition theory are

1. Strachan
2. and Garvie.

Dr. Strachan believes that the original author (whom he designates 'J') made no attempt to give a life of Jesus; having access to some traditions not used by the Synoptists, he is content to supplement them, and moralize upon the various incidents. This material is placed, according to Dr. Strachan, in "what might be called an ideal or logical arrangement, whereby the narratives and discourses not only in themselves reflect ideas about the Person of Jesus, but are grouped so as to illustrate certain aspects of faith in Him." Some time later an editor ('R'-Redactor) sought to impose upon this material a chronological scheme. "The aim of R may be conceived as an attempt to produce a Gospel which shall be more in harmony with that biographical and chronological form, which to him is consonant with a Gospel."

- 4.

Principal Garvie holds that we may distinguish three elements: contributions of the Redactor (R), of the

1. The Fourth Evangelist: Dramatist or Historian?

2. The Beloved Disciple.

3. op. cit., p. 84.

4. ib., p. 85.

Evangelist (E), and of the Witness (W).^{1.} The Witness "prob-
ably confined himself to what he had seen and heard."^{2.} The
Redactor may have got his added information from one or more
of the Synoptists; "what may be called Synoptic echoes are
less likely to be due to the witness or the evangelist than
to the redactor."^{3.} The Witness was a Jerusalemite; hence the
full accounts of Jesus' visits to Jerusalem. The Witness did
not follow him into Galilee--it is to the Redactor that pas-
sages descriptive of the Galilean ministry must be assigned.^{4.}
"The evangelist was the scholar, and the witness the teacher."^{5.}

Concerning the partition theories, one may remark
that among its advocates there is no great agreement as to
which part is to be traced to which source. There is, for
example, no such agreement as that which characterizes the
opinion of Old Testament scholars with regard to the docu-
ments that have been woven into the Hexateuch. A comparison
of Dr. Strachan's analysis^{6.} with that of Dr. Garvie^{7.} shows a
wide divergence of opinion, not only as to the number of
sources--Garvie has three, Strachan two--but also as to the
elements which are to be attributed to the various sources.
One feels that a diversity of elements in the Fourth Gospel
is something that exists only in the minds of some of its in-

1. The Beloved Disciple, p. xxi. 2. ib., p. 40.

3. ib., p. 40f. 4. cf. ib., p. 72.

5. ib., p. 75. 6. The Fourth Evangelist, pp. 94-115.

7. The Beloved Disciple, p. xxviif; cf. St. John's Gos-
pel, p. 256, for a summary of the passages Wendt assigns to
the Source.

interpreters, not in the Gospel itself.

Against the partition theories one has to cite the unity of the Gospel. In support of his theory, Strachan introduces some grammatical and linguistic evidence. This, always precarious, is in this case not very convincing, and at the most can prove nothing more than that at certain points the material has been touched up by an editor. While one does not deny the possibility of this, the unity of style and subject matter which runs throughout the book is, in our opinion, such as to preclude any extensive division into sources. Wherever the materials may have come from, the Gospel as we have it is essentially the work of one mind and one pen.

Advocates of the partition theories appeal to supposed dislocations in the Gospel as exhibiting the bungling hand of an editor. That there have been dislocations in the Gospel is generally accepted; Moffatt's New Translation attempts to restore the various portions to their original position. The presence of dislocations has, however, a much more natural and easy explanation than attributing them to some unskilled editor. The suggestion originated with Spitta that the transposed passages are multiples of the same unit, that unit corresponding to the amount of writing probably

1. The Fourth Evangelist, pp. 103-115.

2. E.g., Garvie: The Beloved Disciple, p. 40; cf. Macgregor, The Gospel of John, p. 125.

3. Zur Geschichte und Litteratur des Urchristenthums.

contained in a single papyrus leaf.¹ Some accidental rearrangement of the leaves would thus account for dislocations in the text. This has been tested in detail by Bernard,² who counts the number of letters each of the passages would have had in the original manuscript, and finds that every supposedly dislocated passage is, approximately, a multiple of the same unit, the hypothetical papyrus leaf. This finds further remarkable confirmation in the fact that the pericope adulterae, the only certainly extraneous element in the Gospel, is just the length of the hypothetical papyrus. It is likely that through some ancient shuffling of the manuscripts this passage strayed into the Fourth Gospel from its original context in the Gospel According to the Hebrews.³

It is not my purpose, however, to narrate the history of the Johannine controversy. This can be traced in Schweitzer's "Quest of the Historical Jesus", where some of the foregoing facts have been found, or seen ready made in Maurice Goguel's "Introduction au Nouveau Testament"⁴ or in Sanday's "The Criticism of the Fourth Gospel". I have been concerned only to analyze the problem and exhibit typical attempts to solve it. Try all the harmonistic patchwork we will, we still have this problem: "Biographers, though dif-

1. See F. W. Lewis: Disarrangements in the Fourth Gospel, p. 14. 2. ICC on John, vol. I, pp. xxviii ff.

3. cf. F. C. Burkitt: Two Lectures on the Gospels, pp. 24, 81-89. 4. Tome II, Chapitre Premier: Histoire du Problème Johannique, pp. 14-72.

fering in the style and vocabulary of their comments¹, cannot lawfully differ in their reports of conversations." One is constrained to ask, after all, Do the Fourth Gospel and the Synoptics ~~belong to the same order of history?~~ ^{proceed from the same point of view? Did the Fourth Evangelist and the Synoptic writers have the same intention with regard to the material they present from the life of Jesus? Origen} thought they did not. Speaking of the differences in chron-

^{2.} ology, he says, "I consider it to be impossible for those who admit nothing more than history in their interpretation to show that these discrepant statements are in harmony with each other." Let us now indicate briefly the point of view from which we begin our study of the problem.

IV.

It was long considered that the historical character of the Fourth Gospel was inextricably bound up with the questions of its authorship and date; Johannine criticism has chiefly raged around these points. The literature of the first Christian centuries has been minutely sifted time and time again. The first of the modern workers in the field were convinced by it that the Fourth Gospel was of very late date, belonging to the second half of the second century. Later writers have found that it proves a somewhat earlier date, a date anywhere from 90 to 110 A.D., although Wendt contends that the patristic evidence only proves the

1. Abbott: Johannine Vocabulary, p. viii.

2. Commentary on John, Ante-Nicene Christian Library, Additional Volume, p. 393.

existence of the written Source which he attempts to distinguish in the Gospel.^{1.} According as one accepted ~~the~~ early or the late date for the Gospel, the long life or the early martyrdom of the Apostle John--and there is evidence for both--~~she~~ ~~at~~tributed great value or no value to the Fourth Gospel as an historical source. By defenders of the Apostolic authorship, it was argued that any Gospel which emanated from an Apostle must be historically accurate. Conversely, it was argued that the intimate knowledge of our Savior which the Fourth Gospel contains could emanate from no source but an Apostle.

In the following pages I have sought to escape from this vicious circle. As I hope to show, the historical character of the Fourth Gospel is such that it is not dependent upon the question of authorship, and far less of exact date. St. Paul never knew our Lord after the flesh. Yet no one would think of denying that he knew Him truly. The Fourth Evangelist may or may not have known our Lord after the flesh; the point is, that he did know Him truly. And it is putting the cart before the horse to try to establish his identity before we evaluate his document. Accordingly, I have in the following pages dispensed with matters of general introduction and confined myself to the historical character of the Gospel as it emerges in a study of the Gospel itself and of the Gospel in relation to the world that called it forth.

1. cf. supra, p. 25.

It may be well for me in a word, however, to indicate the critical position to which my studies have led me, and from which this dissertation sets out.

I believe the Fourth Gospel to have been written in Ephesus. Irenaeus^{1.} says, "Afterwards, John, the disciple of the Lord, who had leaned upon his breast, did himself publish a Gospel during his residence at Ephesus in Asia." Whatever may be made of Irenaeus' statement as to the authorship--it is urged by some that the similarity in names led him into confusion--there is no reason to doubt his statement as to locus. Burney held that the Gospel was written in Aramaic and that the Aramaic origin necessitated its having been produced in Antioch. Even if we grant that the Gospel was originally written in Aramaic, the necessity for an Antiochian origin is an unwarranted assumption. As we shall see, the language of the Gospel is the language of the Mediterranean world, of which Ephesus was a chief city. The Gospel finds its most appropriate setting there.

As regards date, I consider it to be established that the Fourth Gospel knew and used the Synoptic tradition^{2.} in something like its present form. The Fourth Evangelist seems especially to have followed St. Luke; hence, in dating the Fourth Gospel, the terminus a quo must be St. Luke's Gospel. The terminus ad quem is Ignatius' use of the Fourth

1. Adv. Haeres. iii. 1. 1.

2. See Moffatt: Introduction, pp. 533-547.

Gospel. The book must lie between these limits, that is, between 85 and 115 A.D. But there had been time for St. Luke's Gospel to come from Rome to Ephesus, and be absorbed by the author, and also time for the author to influence the outlook of Ignatius at Antioch. This ^{3.}probably reduces the limits to 90 and 100. Tremenheere points out that the year 95 is the date upon which modern writers are in approximate agreement. While I believe that the Gospel was written about that time, the exact date is not essential to my thesis. The point is, that it belongs to the Mediterranean world of the latter part of the ~~first~~ century and the first part of the second.

There is not absolute proof that the person who wrote this book was not the Apostle John, as Irenaeus indicated. Papias, ~~who reported to have spoken~~ ^{is reported to have spoken} of the martyrdom of John by the Jews, ^{but this report rests upon very uncertain authority.*} who ceased to be a nation in 70 A.D. There is some evidence that there was in Ephesus about this time another John, an elder or Presbyter of that name; Papias, Polycarp and Eusebius indicate that there was such a person. Our New Testament contains three letters attributed to "John". The three are very much like each other, and all are very much like the Fourth Gospel. The second and third of these are addressed to different persons by "the Elder" (Ο ΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΕΡΟΣ); ^{1.} "the title Elder," says Carpenter, ^{2.}"distinctly points away

1. II John 1:1; III John 1:1.

2. The Johannine Writings, p. 215.

3. The Church Quarterly Review, July, 1929.

*An Oxford MS. (Bodl., Baroccianus, 142) "which probably represents an eighth or ninth century Epitome of the History of Philippos Sidetes (cent.v.)" - Armitage Robinson: The Historical Character of St. John's Gospel, p. 65; cf. ICC on John, vol. I, p. xxviii.

from 'Apostle', to which a higher authority would surely have been attached." With the identity of names, it is easy to see how confusion could have arisen among the Fathers. The author was perhaps originally an inhabitant of Jerusalem: he took Jesus' mother to his home "in that hour" (19:27). A young man, it is not unlikely that he was present at the last supper, that he had an especial attachment for the Apostle John and from him got much of his intimate knowledge of Jesus. After the destruction of Jerusalem he went to Ephesus, where he preached in the church St. Paul had founded at the end of his second missionary journey. Whoever the author may have been, we turn now to evaluate his document and determine if we can its historical character. Let us begin by observing what sort of document the Fourth Gospel appears to be, what land-marks lie on the surface, what hints the author gives us as to the workings of his own mind and the nature of his composition.

CHAPTER TWO:

SOME CHARACTERISTICS OF THE FOURTH GOSPEL

The Fourth Gospel bears about in its body certain distinctive features--birthmarks, as it were--which must not be overlooked by anyone who would estimate its historical character. We begin our study with a summary of these outstanding characteristics.

I.

In the first place, there is about it a certain mystical strain. "The starting point for any profitable study of the Fourth Gospel," says Streeter,¹ "is the recognition of the author as a mystic--perhaps the greatest of all mystics." Mysticism is a word that one hesitates to use because it is employed in so many widely differing senses. It is popularly used to describe the occult teaching of a secret society, and in technical usage it is applied to everything from the wild ecstasies of Madame Guyon to the feeling for nature found in the poetry of William Blake or Walt Whitman. Our use of the term therefore requires definition.

There is, to begin with, in the Fourth Gospel nothing of the careful arrangement of the various steps in the ascent

¹ L. The Four Gospels, p. 366; cf. Gardner: The Ephesian Gospel, p. 336.

of the mystic way. Plotinus and most subsequent mystics have had three stages: purgation, illumination, union; Augustine had seven. Hugo of St. Victor said the three steps in the mystic way were Cogitatio, Meditatio, Contemplatio; the three stages are compared to the eye of the body, the eye of the mind, the eye of the soul. Elsewhere he defines the stages differently; they are, he says, lectio, meditatio, oratio,^{1.} operatio. St. Teresa had these 'Degrees of Orison': "Recollection, Quiet, Union, Ecstasy, Rapt, the 'Pain of God', and^{2.} the Spiritual Marriage of the soul." Richard of St. Victor "divides the 'steep stairway of love', by which the contemplative ascends to union with the Absolute, into four stages. These he calls the betrothal, the marriage, the wedlock, and^{3.} the fruitfulness of the soul."

There is nothing of this in the Fourth Gospel. It is an arbitrary and mechanical arrangement of an experience which can never be expressed in arbitrary and mechanical terms. The Fourth Evangelist, like his Lord, "knew what was in man" (2:25); he knew ~~that mathematical terms could not be fitly used to describe spiritual experiences; he was too intimate a friend of Jesus to dis-~~

1. Classroom lecture of Professor Hugh Watt, New College, Edinburgh, May 14, 1930.

2. Underhill: *Mysticism*, quotes El Castillo Interior. Miss Underhill remarks: "Though each wayfarer may choose different landmarks, it is clear from their comparison that the road is one." Both quotations are from *Mysticism*, p. 109.

3. Underhill: *Mysticism*, p. 165.

secret his knowledge of him, or attempt to explain his friendship along mechanical lines.

Miss Underhill has, indeed, found in the Fourth Gospel the three stages of the mystic way. The Cleansing of the Temple represents the purgative stage--and this, of course, is her explanation of why the incident is placed first in the Gospel. She writes,

"All which splits the attention of the Self, all the fussy surface interests, everything which distracts it from the supreme business of response to Reality, is driven out with a 'scourge of cords', the harsh symbol of intensest penance and mortification, that the sanctuary of man's being may be fitted for the reception of the incoming guest. The long struggles and readjustments of the Purgative Way are here condensed into one vivid scene: and poverty and detachment, the virtues of preparation, are exhibited as the necessary preliminaries of the new life."¹.

In the remaining parts of the Gospel Miss Underhill finds the subsequent stages of the mystic ascent. The Cleansing of the Temple is followed by the New Birth, and the succeeding chapters reveal the "gifts received by those in whom the new life is manifest....New strength given to the weak and impotent: new vision given to the spiritually blind: actual life given to the spiritually dead."² In the death and resurrection of Lazarus, she thinks,³ "it is not wholly fantastic to trace a hint of the Evangelist's recognition, possibly of his remembrance, of that period of gloom, destitution and 'spiritual death' through which the human consciousness must pass on its

1. The Mystic Way, page 242f.

2. ib., p. 244.

3. ib., p. 247.

way to supreme spiritual attainment." The first twelve chapters of the book, thinks Miss Underhill, represent the illuminative stage, while "the thirteenth to the eighteenth chapters describe the intimate union and personal love which does or may subsist between this Principle of Life and the spirits of men: the joy and the creative power which springs from it."^{1.} This is why the beloved disciple is not mentioned until near the end: "All that has gone before has been a preparation for him, a history of the process by which the Christian mystic is made."^{2.} "From the rhythmic and oracular Prologue," Miss Underhill sums up,^{3.} "to the heavenly vision of the risen and eternal Christ--companion of the daily life of men--with which it ends, it (i.e., the Fourth Gospel) bears the mark of the exalted state of consciousness in which it was composed."

One feels that Miss Underhill's discovery of the mystic way in the Fourth Gospel is a reading-in of Miss Underhill, and not an unfolding of the mind of the Fourth Evangelist. Elsewhere in her book Miss Underhill fits Jesus himself into her scheme and makes him pass through the approved stages of the mystic way: his temptation is the Purgative stage, etc. One feels that her interpretation of the Fourth Gospel is as forced as is her explanation of the life of our Lord. This is not to deny the truthfulness of many of her suggestions. My only point is that the mysticism of the Fourth Gospel does not

1. The Mystic Way, page 247f.

2. ib., p. 248.

3. ib., p. 257.

consist of an analysis of the three stages in the ascent of the mystic way.

The Fourth Gospel contains nothing of the asceticism which is so often characteristic of the purgative stage of mysticism; in fact, it does not even mention Jesus' forty days in the wilderness. Its characteristic feature is rather a joyous seizing upon all of life. Jesus' first public act, according to it, is to attend the marriage feast in Cana, and it is, throughout, the Gospel of more abundant living.

Nor is there anything in the Fourth Gospel of that type of mysticism which finds its chief expression in the imagery of sex--a mysticism, for example, which enabled Bernard of Clairvaux to preach eighty-six sermons from the Song of Songs which is Solomon's¹. In the Fourth Gospel there is absolutely nothing of that 'spiritual sensuality' which addresses Jesus in terms of endearment, is on the most familiar terms with Deity, and describes spiritual joys as the "marriage bliss of the soul".

We come now to discuss positively the kind of mysticism we find in the Fourth Gospel. Father Poulain defined mysticism as "the presence of God felt"². It is rather

1. His homilies on the book were never completed; although he preached 86, he got no further than 3:3. It is perhaps the strangest paradox in the history of preaching that one should choose this book and this imagery for expounding spiritual truths to monks.

2. Les Graces d'Oraison, quoted by Howley: Psychology and Mystical Experience, p. 17.

this sort of thing which is characteristic of the Fourth Gospel. The mystic feels that everything that is, in being what it is, is symbolic of something more. Since God is in and through everything, His presence is felt in all the ~~som-~~mon things of life. The Fourth Gospel is full of such mystic imagery. Words like light and life and bread and water are constantly used with what is obviously more than their literal or ordinary meaning. For the Fourth Evangelist, everything reveals God. This is what we mean when we say that the Fourth Gospel has a mystical strain. Its author is a man with a deep religious experience. Something has happened to him that has transformed everything. He has been on the Mount of Transfiguration, and the mountain too was transfigured.

A second characteristically mystical note in the Fourth Gospel is the emphasis upon the contemplative rather than the "practical" aspect of Jesus' life and man's experience. It is true that the aim of some mystics is "to be^{1.} to the Eternal Goodness what his own hand is to a man." Yet one does not feel that practicality is an essential element^{2.} in mysticism. "Contemplatives," says Origen, "are in the house of God: those who lead an active life are only in the vestibule." The great contemplative mystics have been little

1. Underhill: The Mystic Way, p. 329, quotes "the German Mystic".

2. Quoted ib., p. 287.

CONCERNED WITH the affairs of the workaday world. This is admitted even by Miss Underhill, who is constantly concerned to defend the mystics from the charge of neglecting their duty to their fellow creatures. She lists four characteristics of mysticism, one of which is as follows: "Its aims are wholly transcendental and spiritual. It is in no way concerned with adding to, exploring, re-arranging, or improving anything in the visible universe. The mystic brushes aside that universe even in its most supernormal manifestations. Though he does not, as his enemies declare, neglect his duty to ~~the~~^{1.} many, his heart is always set upon the changeless One."^{2.} Elsewhere she says, "There is nothing of 'social Christianity' in that supreme adventure whereby 'God and the soul are made one thing'." William James speaks of "the helplessness in the kitchen and schoolroom of poor Margaret Mary Alacoque" and adds, "Many other ecstasies would have perished^{3.} but for the care taken of them by admiring followers." The Fourth Gospel is the book for those who, like Mary, have chosen "that good part". It appears to have no direct concern with the affairs of daily life; it contains no practical precepts or moral guidance.

This is not true of the other Gospels; in the Synoptics we have many detailed suggestions for daily conduct:

1. Underhill: *Mysticism*, page 96.

2. *ib.*, p. 359.

3. *Varieties of Religious Experience*, p. 413. There are, of course, exceptions; see *Varieties*, p. 413; Underhill: *Mysticism*, p. 210; cf. p/ 296.

"Agree with thine adversary quickly" (Mt 5:25); "Swear not at all" (Mt 5:34); "Give to him that asketh thee, and from him that would borrow of thee turn not away" (Mt 5:42). Compare also Mt 5: 44, 48; 6:6; 7:1; 10:28; 6:25; 10:42; 12:36; 5:22, 28, 39; 6:3, 9ff, 16ff; 18:21f; 25:34ff; Mk 7:20-23, etc., etc. Besides these short, sharp sayings, many of the parables, as we have noted,^{1.} deal with the conduct of life.

Similarly, St. Paul is constantly concerned to give practical help and guidance to his converts. He advises the Romans (12:3) not to think more highly of themselves than they ought to think; "if thine enemy hunger, feed him; if he thirst, give him to drink" (Rns 12:20). He enjoins obedience to rulers (Rns 13:1ff), payment of taxes (Rns 13:6f), self-denial on behalf of others (Rns 14:15). Many of Paul's epistles were occasioned by the necessity of giving light on some practical problem of daily existence. The Epistle to the Galatians was occasioned by a controversy over whether such Jewish rites as circumcision and the observance of feast days were essential to the Christian faith. First Corinthians deals with a host of practical matters: sexual morality, Christians' going to law in pagan courts, the place of women in the church, the use of foods that had been offered to idols, etc., etc. The Epistle to Philemon informs a brother Christian how he should deal with a runaway slave.

1. Supra, page 7.

In the Fourth Gospel there is nothing of this. If in St. Paul we find "not a blade of green grass in all his writing,"^{1.} in the Fourth Gospel we find not one precept that is of any practical value in the daily struggle. It gives no hint of the very practical and pointed message that characterized the preaching of John the Baptist, who so unerringly laid his hand on the sore spot in every man's life. Nor does it record one word of Jesus' social teaching. In the Fourth Gospel, as also in the Epistles of John, the nearest thing we have to practical guidance is the general principle, "love one another, even as I have loved you."^{2.} In the words of M. Goguel,^{3.} "Il n'y a pas de morale johannique, ou plus exactement, toute la morale se réduit au commandement d'amour." Instead of practical precepts, we hear only about being "born anew" (3:3,7), about "living water" (4:10), "the true bread out of heaven" (6:32), eating "the flesh of the Son of man" and drinking "his blood" (6:53), "the light of the world" (8:12; 9:5, etc.), about abiding in Christ (8:31; 15:4), knowing the truth (8:32; 16:13), loving one another (15:17), and overcoming the world (16:33; 17:16).

A third mystical feature in the Fourth Gospel is found in a certain confusion of tense as regards eternal life. In the Synoptics, where the term is less frequently used, it

1. Strachan: The Fourth Evangelist, p. 12.

2. 15:12; cf. I Jn 4:10f, etc.

3. Introduction au Nouveau Testament, Tome II, p. 477.

almost always has a future reference, and is contrasted with
^{1.}
 'this time'. But in the Fourth Gospel eternal life is not
 something that awaits us after death; it is something that is
 all about us here and now: "He that eateth my flesh and drink-
 eth my blood hath ($\epsilon\chi\epsilon\iota$) eternal life" (6:54). For the
 Fourth Evangelist, "eternal life was not essentially a hope,
^{2.}
 but a spiritual experience." This is certainly a mystical
 note.

When we speak of the mysticism of the Fourth Gospel,
 then, we mean that its language is the language of religious
 devotion and that its spiritual eye penetrates to the reality
 that lies behind things. Of ecstatic visions the Fourth Gos-
 pel knows nothing, but it does see heavenly things mirrored
 in earthly. That the Fourth Gospel does have this deep con-
 templative strain is further evidenced by its wide appeal to
 the mystics of every age. Deep calls unto deep, and symbol
 unto lovers of symbol, and the Fourth Gospel never fails to
 awaken a responsive chord in the heart of the mystic. The
 legalist may find its meaning difficult to comprehend, but to
^{3.}
 the mystic it is "the brightest jewel" in the Bible. We have
^{4.}
 noted how Miss Underhill finds in it the entire scheme of the
 Mystic Way. She says that it is "the Charter of the New Race;
 the classical description of Christian mysticism,"
^{5.}
 and that

1. cf. Mk 10:30; Lu 18:30; etc.

2. Gardner: The Ephesian Gospel, p. 188.

3. W. R. Inge: Christian Mysticism, p. 36.

4. Supra, p. 37f.

5. The Mystic Way, p. 252.

in it "the deepest and richest experience of the Christian mystic found once for all their supreme literary expression, and established themselves as the central facts of the Christian 'revelation'." ^{1.} ^{2.} Dean Inge also calls the Fourth Gospel "the charter of Christian Mysticism", and devotes a considerable space to expounding its mystical elements; his "Selections from the German Mystics" ^{3.} has a very Johannine title: "Light, Life, and Love". ^{4.} Watt says, "I take it that the soul of Christian mysticism, in face of the historic Christ, is set forth for all time in classical form in this Gospel according to St. John."

II.

Curiously enough, the next characteristic of the Fourth Gospel which we have to note is the presence of formulae: there are a few set ways in ^{one or the other of} which almost everything is expressed. One formula is *ἀμήν, ἀμήν* which the Fourth Gospel uses in this double form twenty-five times; *ἀμήν* ^{5.} always occurs singly in the Synoptics. Abbott remarks that "No one has been able hitherto to explain why the Three Gospels never use *ἀμήν* doubly, and the Fourth Gospel never singly, in reporting the sayings of Christ," while Bernard notes that "this solemn prelude to sayings or discourses of special sig-

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1. The Mystic Way, p. 216.
 2. Christian Mysticism, p. 44.
 3. Library of Devotion, London, 1905.
 4. The Intuition of God, p. 106.
 5. Johannine Vocabulary, p. 186, note 6.

nificance....is never used abruptly to introduce^a a fresh topic, out of connexion with what has gone before, nor does it begin a new discourse. It always has reference to something that has been said already, which is expanded or set in a new light.^{1.}

A second characteristic formula is that beginning "I am" (*ἐγώ εἰμι*). It occurs no less than twelve times in the entire book: "I am the light of the world," "I am the bread of life," "I am the way, the truth, and the life," etc.

Again, our author is very fond of three-fold repetitions. An idea or striking phrase will be repeated thrice over, sometimes in the form of affirmation, denial, affirmation; sometimes with little or no change in the manner of expression. Thus, the Baptist "confessed, and denied not; and he confessed, I am not the Christ" (1:20). Compare the three-fold references to the new birth (3: 3, 5, 7); to "whoever believeth" (3:15,16,18); to the coming of light (3:19, 20,21); to the water Jesus will give (4:13,14); to the witnesses (5:31,32f,34-37); Jesus' claim to be the bread of life (6:35,48,51); eating Christ's flesh (6:51,54,56); the shepherd's voice (10:3,4,5); the door of the sheep (10:2,7,8); the good shepherd (10:11,14,16); "I am in the Father" (14:10, 11,20); abiding in Christ (15:4,5,7); "of the world" (17: 14, 16). A literalist would find the author extremely careless^{2.} in these repetitions. Abbott lists some sixty instances

1. ICC on John, vol. II, p. 348.

2. Johannine Vocabulary, pp. 403-407.

where the Evangelist quotes himself inaccurately or reports the speech of another in a different way from that in which he had previously reported it.

In his "Johannine Vocabulary", Abbott has also exhibited Johannine words in parallel columns with Synoptic words. These columns reveal that the following expressions of time and place are characteristic formulae of the Fourth Evangelist. ἀλλά occurs 43 times in Mark, 36 in Matthew, 36 in Luke, 101 in the Fourth Gospel. οὐπω occurs thirteen times in the Fourth Gospel, whereas it occurs only eight times in all the Synoptics together: five in Mark, two in Matthew, one in Luke.^{1.} πρόθεν occurs in Mark three times, in Matthew three, in Luke four, in the Fourth Gospel thirteen.^{2.} ποῦ occurs in Mark three times, Matthew four, Luke seven, the Fourth Gospel eighteen.^{3.} ἄρτι, which does not occur at all in Mark or Luke, occurs seven times in Matthew, twelve times in the Fourth Gospel.^{4.} ὅν occurs three times in Mark, four times in Matthew, fourteen times in Luke, twenty-nine times in the Fourth Gospel.^{5.} Other words used in characteristic fashion are μέντοι, which occurs nowhere in the Synoptics, five times in the Fourth Gospel; and οὖν,^{6.} which occurs in the Fourth Gospel around 195 times.^{7.}

Similarly, the discourse material is all cast in

1. op. cit., p. 214.

2. ib., p. 237.

3. ib., p. 237.

4. ib., p. 215.

5. ib., p. 215.

6. Abbott: Johannine Grammar, p. 151.

7. ib., p. 165.

the same mold. Each time there is (a) the dramatic setting, (b) the presentation of the thesis, (c) the misunderstanding, (d) the development. Thus, Nicodemus comes by night (3:2); Jesus lays down the principle of the new birth (3:3); Nicodemus pretends not to understand (3:4); Jesus elaborates the idea of the new birth (3:5ff). In the same manner, Jesus and the Samaritan woman meet at the well (4:7); Jesus talks about living water (4:10); the woman can think only of water in such a well as this (4:11); Jesus explains that the water he gives shall be "a well of water springing up unto eternal life" (4:14). The arrangement of the material is precisely similar in the case of the controversy over the healing of the lame man at the pool of Bethesda on the Sabbath: setting, 5:2-16; thesis, 5:17; misunderstanding, 5:18; development, 5:19-47; over the bread of life: setting, 6:1-25; thesis, 6:26f; misunderstanding, 6:28-31; development, 6:32-51; over the light of the world: setting, 8:12a; thesis, 8:12; misunderstanding, 8:13; development, 8:14ff; over the true seed of Abraham: setting, 8:31; thesis, 8:32; misunderstanding, 8:33; development, 8:34ff; over the resurrection: setting, 11:1-22; thesis, 11:23; misunderstanding, 11:24; development, 11:25ff.

III.

A third characteristic of the Fourth Gospel is its interest in circumstantial detail, details about people, places and time. The author rescues for us the names of many persons who would otherwise be doomed to oblivion. The

Synoptics tell us that "a certain one of them that stood by drew his sword, and smote the servant of the high priest, and struck off his ear" (Mk 14:47; cf. Mt 26:51; Lu 22:50). But the Fourth Gospel informs us that it was Peter who drew his sword, and "the servant's name was Malchus" (18:10). The Synoptists say that the anointing in Bethany was done by "a woman" (Mk 14:3; Mt 26:7) and that "some" that were present (Mk 14:4; cf. Mt 26:8) complained of the wastefulness of the deed. The Fourth Evangelist tells us, however, that it was Mary who did the anointing and Judas who objected (12:3ff). Concerning the Resurrection, the Synoptists say that "some doubted" (cf. Mk 16:13); the Fourth Gospel tells us that it was Thomas who required proof (20:25).

Not only does the Fourth Evangelist thus add individual references to the vague statements of the Synoptics, but he also names many persons whom we would otherwise know nothing about. It is he alone who tells us that the father of Judas was Simon Iscariot (6:71; 13:2, 26), ~~that Peter's father was John (1:42; 21:16, 18, 19)~~. But for the Fourth Evangelist we would not know that there was ~~a "Judas, not Iscariot" (14:22)~~ a Nathanael (whose name is mentioned six times), or a Nicodemus (whose name occurs five times). He alone tells us that Peter was called Cephas (1:42), and that the surname of Thomas was Didymus (11:16; 20:24; 21:2).

Besides this detailed interest in characters, the

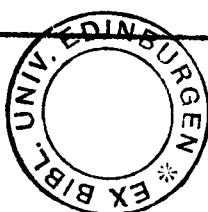
Fourth Gospel is also interested in details of time and place. The Synoptics are not much interested in time. The successive stages in Jesus' life are introduced by some such formula as, "leaving Nazareth, he came and dwelt in Capernaum" (Mt 4:13); "passing along by the sea of Galilee" (Mk 1:16); "And it came to pass on one of those days" (Lu 5:17); "And he went forth again by the seaside" (Mk 2:13); "And he departed thence" (Mt 12:9), etc., etc. The periods of time indicated by these formulae are vague and indefinite; the Synoptists have no apparent interest in the exact number of days. The Fourth Evangelist, on the other hand, is exceedingly careful about his temporal designations. He tells us that certain things happened on "the next day" (τῇ ἑπαύριον ; 1:29, 35, 43; 12:12; 6:22; etc.). It was "on the third day" (τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ τρίτῃ 2:1) that Jesus came to Cana. In Samaria he abode δύο ἡμέρας (4:40), and "after two days he departed" (4:43). It was "about the midst of the feast" (τῆς ἑορτῆς μεσοῦσης; 7:14) that Jesus began one of his controversies with the Jews, and on "the last day the great day of the feast" (τῇ ἑσχάτῃ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ μεγάλῃ τῆς ἑορτῆς; 7:37) that he stood up and said, "If any man thirst, let him come unto me and drink." It was "six days before the passover" (πρὸ ἑξ ἡμερῶν τοῦ πάσχα; 12:1) that he came to Bethany.

Not only is the Fourth Evangelist thus concerned to designate the specific days on which various events occur, but he is also fond of noting the exact hour, another feature

not found in the Synoptics. It was "about the tenth hour" (**ὥρα ἦν ὡς δεκάτη** ; 1:40) that certain disciples of John came to Jesus. It was "at the seventh hour" (**ὥραν ἰβδόμην** 4:52) that the fever left the nobleman's son. It was "when even was come" (**ὥς δὲ ὀψία ἐγένετο** ; 6:16) that the disciples went out upon the sea. It was "about the sixth hour" (**ὥρα ἦν ὡς ἕκτη** ; 19:14) on the day of Preparation that Jesus was on trial before Pilate. Mary Magdalene came to the tomb "while it was yet dark" (**σκοτίας ἔτι οὕσης** 20:1).

Further, the author is prone to dwell on place names as if they had some special significance. John was baptizing "in Bethany beyond the Jordan" (1:28), and again "in Aenon near to Salim" (3:23). The blind man is sent to "wash in the pool of Siloam, which is by interpretation Sent" (**ὃ ἐρμηνεύεται Ἀπεσταλμένος** ; 9:7). "Bethany was nigh unto Jerusalem, about fifteen furlongs off" (11:18). Pilate's judgment seat was "at a place called The Pavement (**Λιθόστρωτον**), but in Hebrew, Gabbatha" (19:13). The "place where Jesus was crucified was nigh to the city" (19:20). The Fourth Evangelist is the only one of the four gospel writers who mentions Sychar (4:5), Bethany beyond Jordan (1:28), Bethesda (5:2), Cana (2:1), Ephraim (11:54), Gabbatha (19:13), Salim (3:23), Tiberias (6:1,23; 21:1), Wilderness of Arabia (3:14; 6:31,49).

Other evidences of the love of detail are to be found in the description of what was seen in the tomb of Jesus (20:



5,7), of the condition of Lazarus as he came forth from the grave (11:44), of the peculiar manner of Jesus' death (19:34), and of the details of the burial "as the custom of the Jews is to bury" (19:40). When Jesus was in Jerusalem at the feast of the dedication, the Evangelist tells us that "it was winter" (χειμὼν ἦν ; 10:22). The Fourth Evangelist alone records that it was with "barley" loaves that the five thousand were fed. The Synoptics merely tell us that the woman who did the anointing in Bethany had "an alabaster cruse of ointment" (Mk 14:3; Mt 26:7); the Fourth Evangelist gives the exact amount she had: "a pound of ointment" (12:3).

IV.

A fourth characteristic of the Johannine Gospel is its dramatic quality. The setting of every one of the incidents is a revelation of the author's dramatic instinct. One remarkable feature of the entire Bible is its ability to say so much in so few words. "Does not the Destruction of a Brunswick Theatre," asks Carlyle,¹ "take above a million times as much telling as the Creation of a World?" Nowhere is this more marked than in the writings of the Fourth Evangelist, who speaks with what Drummond calls² "the brief condensed simplicity of genius." The sad account of the defection of Judas ends thus: "He having received the sop went out straightway: and it was night" (13:30). "And it was night"!--did ever four

1. In his essay, "On History Again".

2. Character and Authorship of the Fourth Gospel, p. 24.

monosyllables say so much? "Now in the place where he was crucified there was a garden" (19:41)--the man who wrote that was an artist! Nicodemus' nocturnal visit (3:1ff), Peter's actions at the trial (18:16ff), the anointing in Bethany (12:1ff)--all these are gems of dramatic art. The setting for almost every one of the incidents is perfectly laid: the marriage at Cana, the woman at the well, the lame man at the pool of Bethesda. The description of Mary's meeting her Lord in the garden "is to be ranked," says Dr.^{1.} Strachan, "among the two or three great dramatic descriptions of religious experience in all literature."

The author's dramatic instinct asserts itself very subtly, and is carried into the very grammatical structure. The use of so simple a word as the conjunctive *καί* is big with meaning. *καί* is frequently used in an adversative sense: "A little while and ye behold me not," "They have taken away the body of the Lord and we know not where they have laid him," etc., etc. "Nor is it fanciful," says Ab-^{2.} bott, "to say that this curious Johannine characteristic reflects the writer's view of the world--its double nature of light and darkness, its disappointments, incongruities, and pathetic paradoxes, which he feels to be often expressible^{better} by an 'and' than by a coarse, commonplace, obtrusive 'but': 'He was in the world and--the world knew him not,' 'He came unto

1. The Fourth Evangelist, p. 280.

2. Johannine Grammar, p. 137.

his own, and--his own received him not."

On the other hand, the *καί* is frequently omitted, and again with subtle meaning. A Greek sentence is usually connected with the preceding one by this, or some other, conjunction. The Synoptics follow this normal order. The Fourth Gospel, however, largely dispenses with conjunctions; it "abounds in instances of ^{1.} *asyndeton* of the most varied and unexpected kind". ^{2.} Abbott notes that the presence of *asyndeton* is most remarkable in the Prologue and in the Prayer to the Father (17:1-26). Its absence is remarkable in 16:2-11, which includes such initial conjunctions as *ἀλλά, καί, δέ, γάρ*, etc. *Ἀλλά* "often occurs in emotional utterances in Greek literature generally. Both the presence and the absence of *asyndeton* appear appropriate to the tenor of these two passages."

V.

Other characteristics of the Fourth Gospel may conveniently be grouped together. One is that a consistent purpose runs throughout it. In a verse that was apparently the conclusion to the original gospel, the author tells us what that purpose was: "these are written that ye may believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God; and that believing

1. Abbott: Johannine Grammar, p. 70. From this want of conjunctions springs the ambiguity of 1:3. ARV text reads, "All things were made through him; and without him was not anything made that hath been made. In him was life...." The margin has, "....was not anything made. That which hath been made was life in him...."

2. Johannine Grammar, p. 71.

ye may have life in his name" (20:31). In the selection of his material the author seems to have been guided by this principle: he selected only those things calculated to make people ^{believe} that Jesus was the Christ, the Son of God, and that believing they might have life in his name.

The purpose is worked out along ^r ~~the~~ three main lines, corresponding to three key words of the Gospel: Logos, Light, Life. Around these three ideas the Gospel is built. Abbott, in his amazingly patient investigation of "Johannine Vocabulary", says, by way of summary, that the Johannine Vocabulary ^{1.} "would be found very small indeed as compared with the Vocabulary of Matthew by itself, or with that of Luke by itself, and even when compared ~~with~~ the limited number of words used by Mark, Matthew, and Luke in common, it is small." The reason for this is that the changes are being constantly rung on these same few elemental words.

Everything else in the Gospel is subordinated to this major purpose. No incident is related solely for the purpose of relating the incident; every incident becomes the setting for a discourse, the text of a sermon. We hear nothing about the characters except what they contribute to the main purpose. The characters of the Fourth Gospel are without father or mother, without beginning of life or end of days. They suddenly appear on the stage, speak their few words about "life", and as suddenly disappear, leaving us to

wonder what was the outcome of their meeting with Jesus. Was Nicodemus born again? Was the woman of Samaria converted? Did the Greeks find Him? Since these were not essential to the Evangelist's main purpose, he leaves us in ignorance about them all.

Again, we note as a characteristic of the Gospel that the author seems not so much interested in recording facts as in interpreting them. Fondly he glances at things that happened in the past, and sets them in their larger light. While the word *σημαίνειν* does not occur at all in the Synoptics, three times (12:33; 18:32; 21:19) the Fourth Evangelist makes Jesus "signify by what death" he should die. He is constantly viewing the ministry of Jesus in its larger perspective. After recounting the controversy about destroying and rebuilding the temple, he says, "But he spake of the temple of his body. When therefore he was raised from the dead, his disciples remembered that he spake thus; and they believed the scripture, and the word which Jesus had said" (2:21f). "Jesus knew from the beginning who they were that believed not, and who it was that should betray him" (6:64). Though the anointing in Bethany is not mentioned until chapter 12, the author says, with a touch ^{of} ~~fond~~ reminiscence, that Mary the sister of Lazarus "was that Mary who anointed the Lord with ointment, and wiped his feet with her hair" (11:2).

Following the account of the triumphal entry, he says, "These things understood not his disciples at the first:

but when Jesus was glorified, then remembered they that these things were written of him, and that they had done these things unto him" (12:16). Before passing on to the story of the betrayal he says of Jesus that "having loved his own that were in the world, he loved them unto the end" (13:1). While Jesus is yet with his disciples he is made to talk as if he had already departed: "While I was with them, I kept them in thy name which thou hast given me: and I guarded them, and not one of them perished...." (17:12). The story of the empty tomb is particularly full of memories that have been cherished across the years: "the other disciple outran Peter and came first to the tomb" (20:4). "Then entered in therefore the other disciple also, who came first to the tomb, and he saw, and believed" (20:8). Caiaphas' words, truer than he knew, "he said not of himself: but being high priest that year, he prophesied that Jesus should die for the nation; and not for the nation only, but that he might also gather into one the children of God that are scattered abroad" (11:51f).

Another characteristic of the Gospel is what one might call human interest. The pronoun *σú* occurs more frequently in the Fourth Gospel than in all the Synoptists together.¹ Our author is one who knows the hearts of men and has a wide sympathy that takes in all kinds of people. We

1. See Abbott: Johannine Grammar, p. 297.

noted above¹. the persons whom he rescues from oblivion. It is he alone of the Gospel writers who recalls that it was a boy who provided the means for the feeding of the multitude: "There is a lad here" (6:9). He understood a father's love for his child: "And there was a ~~certain~~ nobleman, whose son was sick" (4:46ff). He knew that children can never be fully explained on the basis of their parentage (6:42). There is a tender note to the words, "For even his brethren did not believe on him" (7:5).

He understood how human beings are influenced more by what they are afraid others will say than by what they themselves believe: "even of the rulers many believed on him; but because of the Pharisees they did not confess it, lest they should be put out of the synagogue: for they loved the glory that is of men more than the glory that is of God" (12:42f). Nicodemus, being a ruler, "came by night" (3:2). Pilate, more afraid of a sneer than of committing a crime, finds no fault in Jesus, yet at the mob's insistent cry "he delivered him unto them to be crucified" (19:16). The Fourth Evangelist talks about joy (15:11) and sorrow (11:35). And one of his most beautiful figures is of an elemental human thing: "A woman when she is in travail hath sorrow, because her hour is come; but when she is delivered of the child, she remembereth no more the anguish, for the joy that a man is born into the world" (16:21).

1. Page 49.

VI.

By way of summary, then, we may note another characteristic of the Fourth Gospel, namely, that its author has suffused everything with his own personality. He was a man with a deep religious experience, and everything he wrote bears his imprint. He was a mystic in the highest and best sense of the word: he saw the eternal mirrored in the temporal, and wrote his Gospel in terms of life, conceiving life, not in the petty terms of daily existence, but as a quality that links man with Eternal Being. The author's expositions are all cast into the same mould; he seems to have been bent on making everything fit the same formulae. The incidents described in the Gospel are embellished with a wealth of detail, detail that may be either the overflow of a full memory or the creation of a keen imagination. The setting of every incident is carefully laid--the author's dramatic instinct is unmistakable. Everything in the Gospel seems to revolve around one central purpose. The author views certain incidents in retrospect, with what seems to be a foreshortening of history. A certain human interest makes us think that the author's chief concern is with people, not with events. These characteristics of the Gospel stand out like red lanterns on a dark night, warning us of what to expect.

I have said that everything in the Fourth Gospel is suffused with the author's own personality. Jesus, John the Baptist, Nathanael--all speak in exactly the same stilted fashion. There are a number of places where we cannot tell

whether one of the characters is supposed to be speaking, or whether the author is making his comments. 1:16-18, for example: "For he was before me. For of his fulness we all received....the only begotten Son, which is in the bosom of the Father, he hath declared him."^{1.} Abbott notes that "Origen attributed the italicised passage to the Baptist. So did Irenaeus. Heracleon, and many critics in Origen's time, maintained that it proceeded partly from the Baptist, partly from the Evangelist. Alford and Westcott assert that the whole of it proceeds from the Evangelist." The familiar words of 3:16 --are we to suppose that they were uttered by Jesus, or are they the Evangelist's comment?^{2.} 3:31-36--do these reflections proceed from the Baptist or from the Evangelist? "For Jews have no dealings with Samaritans" (4:9)--Chrysostom thinks these words were "uttered by the woman....Alford and Westcott say that they are an explanatory note of the evangelist."^{3.} In several places the writer slips from the present to the past tense; see 3:13; 16:4; 17:12. In 3:10f there is a remarkable change from the singular to the plural: "Jesus answered and said unto him. Art thou the teacher in Israel, and understandest not these things? Verily, verily, I say (λέγω)

1. Johannine Grammar, p. vii.

2. Concerning the grammatical structure of this verse, Abbott remarks (Johannine Grammar, p. 172), "This unique use of οὗτος and ὅςτε with indicative is common in the best classical authors, but it is unlike the style of any evangelistic tradition in N.T. It is one of many proofs that the passage....was not regarded by the writer as a saying of the Lord, but as an evangelistic explanation."

3. Abbott: Johannine Grammar, p. ix.

unto thee, We speak (λαλοῦμεν) that which we know (οἶδαμεν) and bear witness of that which we have seen (ἑωράκαμεν)."

It has been said that however much a writer tells us about his subject, he always tells us more about himself. This is not true of the Synoptists; no one could be more self-effacing than they. The purely objective way in which they treat their material is truly remarkable, indeed is without parallel in the history of literature. They have not one word of praise for their hero, not one particle of description of him--they merely relate the things he said and did. Not once do they, with pardonable pride, assert that they had been witnesses of the scenes they are describing--they merely report that such and such a thing happened. And there is never any doubt where Jesus is speaking and where the author is supplying the necessary editorial links. Even these latter are severely objective: "And it came to pass when Jesus had finished commanding his twelve disciples, he departed thence to teach and preach in their cities" (Mt 11:1). "And he went out from thence; and he cometh unto his own country; and his disciples follow him" (Mk 6:1). "And he was preaching in the synagogues of Galilee" (Lu 4:44).

A friend of mine is writing a dissertation on "The Religious Experience of the Author of the Fourth Gospel". Our

author is the only Evangelist about whom such a work could be written. There are scant data for writing about the religious experience of Matthew or Mark or Luke. Every line of the Fourth Gospel bears about in its body the mark of the author. Detach any saying from the Synoptics and you cannot tell to which of them it belongs. Detach any saying from the Fourth Gospel and there can be no mistaking it.

CHAPTER THREE

THE FOURTH GOSPEL AND THE WORLD IN WHICH IT WAS WRITTEN

I.

The Fourth Gospel begins with an abrupt reference to ὁ λόγος, and the conception is nowhere explained. We cannot believe that the writer of a Gospel would begin with an abrupt and unexplained reference to an idea which was not understood by the common people of his day--Gospels are not written for the classroom. We thus have in the very first words of the Fourth Gospel a hint that it is in some way adapted to the world in which it was written; λόγος must have been a word that was well known to his contemporaries.

In his farewell discourse, the Jesus of the Fourth Gospel says, "No longer do I call you servants (δούλους)... but I have called you friends (φίλους)" (15:15). There is no record in the Synoptics that Jesus ever said any such thing. It is a fact that the Emperor had 'friends' as well as 'slaves'. "'Friend of the Emperor' is an official title, going back probably to the language of the court under the successors of Alexander"¹. According to the Fourth Evangelist, Pilate was warned by the people, "If thou release this man, thou art not Caesar's friend" (φίλος --19:12)--words again not found in the first three Gospels. This very beautiful touch, dear to the heart of every Christian, is a second

1. Deissmann: Light from the Ancient East, p. 383.

hint that the Fourth Gospel is in some way especially adapted to the world in which it was written. The Evangelist has either rescued for us a saying of Jesus which had particular appropriateness for the people for whom he was writing, or else has translated his knowledge of the friendship of Jesus into the language of his contemporaries.

A third hint that the Fourth Gospel is in some way adapted to the world in which it was written, is the peculiar way in which the author refers to "the Jews" and "their law" --it scarcely seems possible that this is the usage of Jesus who was brought up among Jews, spoke his message to Jews, and^{1.} revered the Jewish law. Abbott says, "Not only do the Synoptic distinctions of 'publicans', 'sinners', 'scribes', and 'Sadducees' disappear, but, instead of the old fundamental demarcation between 'the people', i.e., Israel, and 'the nations', i.e., the Gentiles, we find the term 'Jews' used, almost as Tacitus uses it, as the embodiment of narrow hostility to all that is humane and truthful." Dr. G. S. Duncan,^{2.} in his "St. Paul's Ephesian Ministry," has tried to show that the opposition to Paul in Ephesus (Acts 19) was chiefly due to the Jews. Their violent antagonism was due to his engaging in "temple robbery" (Acts 19:37), which has reference, thinks Duncan, not to the Ephesian temple of Diana, but to the Temple in Jerusalem. Paul was "robbing" it in that he did not require his Gentile converts to make an annual contri-

1. Johannine Vocabulary, p. 192.

2. op. cit., pages 36-46.

bution to the Temple in Jerusalem, any more than he required them to keep the ceremonial laws of cleansing or eating. If this interpretation be accepted--and it is quite independent of Dr. Duncan's main thesis--we have an explanation of the Fourth Evangelist's frequent reference to "the Jews". Throughout his book they are represented as hard-hearted antagonists of Christ, engaged in constant bickerings and quarrels, wilfully blind to the truth. Though the Evangelist transfers the scenes of their opposition to Jesus to the Temple courts in Jerusalem, the conditions reflected are not Jerusalem,^{1.} but Ephesus, where, as we have seen, the Gospel was written.

Besides these striking bits of internal evidence that the Fourth Gospel had special reference to the conditions of the world in which it was written, we have the explicit testimony of Irenaeus, who tells us that the Fourth Evangelist directed his Gospel against Cerinthus, one of the Gnostic teachers.^{2.} Following the lines suggested by these hints, we discover that the Fourth Gospel is amazingly adapted to the religious longings and the human needs of the Graeco-Roman world of the first and second century. ~~its remedy is in the~~
~~remedy of that world, its message is reached in terms~~
~~calculated to appeal to the souls of men in that age.~~

1. Supra, page 32.

2. Adv. Haeres. XIII. xi. 1. Irenaeus also relates how the Apostle John and Cerinthus once met in the public baths of Ephesus, whereupon John fled "lest even the bathhouse fall down because Cerinthus is inside."

While it does not of itself signify to us anything concerning the author's purpose, it is interesting in this connection to note the popular quality of the language ~~the language of the Fourth Gospel is the popular~~ of the Fourth Gospel.

~~Language of the day~~. Its vocabulary, idioms and grammatical structure are the language of the street corner, the marketplace, and the fireside. This has been recognized only within the last quarter of a century. Abbott, writing in 1905, can say, "The Fourth Gospel is admitted by all Greek scholars to be, in parts, extraordinarily obscure."¹ For many years its peculiarities of language structure were explained as Hebraisms: the book was either a translation of an Aramaic original, or its author was so steeped in Hebrew tradition that he transferred Hebrew idioms into the Greek he was using. This was the belief of the late Canon Burney, a Semitic scholar who brought the wealth of his Old Testament background to bear upon a study of the Fourth Gospel. The belief in an Aramaic original for the Fourth Gospel is a belief, he thinks, which is "capable of the fullest verification." Believing that "The most weighty form of evidence in proof that a document is a translation from another language is the existence of difficulties or peculiarities of language which can be shown to find their solution in the theory of mistranslation from the assumed original language,"² he finds "a considerable number of such in the Fourth Gospel."³ He cites parataxis, casus pendens, asyndeton, use of conjunctions, pronouns, verbs and negatives. By reconstructing

1. Johannine Grammar, p. 5.

2. The Aramaic Origin of the Fourth Gospel, p. 101.

3. ib.

what he conceives to have been the Aramaic original of the Prologue, the Prologue "seems to take the form of a hymn, written in eleven parallel couplets, with comments introduced here and there by the writer;"^{1.} this, he thinks, "is a marked trait of Hebrew poetic composition."^{2.} One who has not a knowledge of Aramaic has no equipment for a detailed criticism of Canon Burney's argument. We may note, however, that he supports his argument by stating that "the theory that the Gospel was written in Aramaic fits in admirably with other well-ascertained results of internal evidence--the author's intimate knowledge of Palestinian topography, of Jewish festivals and customs, and of the current Messianic expectations at the time of our Lord."^{3.} As I hope to show^{4.} later, these details are not historically accurate, and therefore can lend no support to Canon Burney's argument. He is therefore thrown back on linguistic evidence. The papyri have shown that the latter requires no such explanation. The colloquial style and popular quality of the language is noticeable even in the English versions, particularly in the paratactic order: sentence is joined to sentence by andand....and.

II.

So much for the indications that the Fourth Gospel is especially adapted to the world in which it was written.

1. The Aramaic Origin of the Fourth Gospel, p. 40.
2. ib.
3. ib., p.127.
4. Infra, pp. 202ff.

Let us now examine that world in some detail. The world in which the Fourth Gospel was written was, in the first place, a very religious world. When St. Paul came to the most cultured city of ancient Greece he said, "Ye men of Athens, in all things I perceive that ye are very religious" (*ὡς δεισιδαιμονεστέρους* --Acts 17:22). They had even erected an altar *ΑΓΝΩΣΤΩ ΘΕΩ* (Acts 17:23). There were altars to every known or imagined god. Lucian, writing a little later than the Fourth Evangelist, in one of his delightful dialogues has Zeus ask rather nervously what men are saying about him nowadays--mankind is so fond of novelty. "'There was a time,' he says, 'when I was everything to them. Each street, each market-place was full of Zeus--and I could hardly see for the smoke of sacrifice'; but other gods, Asklepios, Bendis, Anubis and others, have set up shrines and the altars of Zeus are cold--cold as Chrysippus."^{1.}

It was an age of religious ferment, enjoying unique opportunity for the spread of religious ideas. One lays aside the literature of the period with the feeling that, in a far deeper sense than was formerly thought, "when the fulness of time was come, God sent forth his own Son" (Gal. 4:4). The Roman Empire had bound the world together in a network of roads. C. H. Moore believes that "it may be said without exaggeration that during the first two centuries of our era one could travel in Mediterranean lands over a wider area and with

1. Icaromen. 24, cited by Glover: Conflict of Religions, page 209.

greater security than it has ever been possible to do since." ^{1.}
Our New Testament is full of the evidences of travel. St. Paul's missionary journeys took him over the greater part of the Mediterranean world. Philip on the way to Gaza meets an Ethiopian eunuch. Simon of Cyrene is pressed into service at the Crucifixion. The slave Onesimus has fled from his master's household in Colossae and has made good his escape to far-away Rome. ^{2.}

The Greek language, too, had made it possible for people from distant parts of the empire to understand each other. Greek "had become the common medium of intercourse around the eastern Mediterranean and had spread even farther afield." ^{3.} People in Egypt were transacting their business in Greek, and the same language was understood in many places beyond the Euphrates. It was known and used by cultured people even in Rome, and St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans and Clement's Epistle from Rome to the Corinthians are written, not in Latin, but in Greek. When the emperor Marcus Aurelius communes with himself, Greek is the language in which his thoughts find expression. Greek was the language of commerce and correspondence, and the Bible of the first century Christians was the Septuagint, a Greek translation of the Old Testament.

1. Cited by Eakin: Getting Acquainted with the New Testament, p. 230.

2. Or Ephesus; see G. S. Duncan: "St. Paul's Ephesian Ministry", pp. 72-74.

3. Eakin: op. cit., p. 229.

In the third place, Alexander had destroyed the old provincialism. By his campaign which resulted in the marriage of East and West, he "gave the first powerful impetus to universal syncretism which confounded the nationality of gods as well as of men."^{1.} It is apparent that the age enjoyed unique facilities for the interchange of ideas. Travelers went everywhere, on all kinds of missions: merchants on business, soldiers and consuls on government errands, sick people to famed shrines of health, sight-seers to the Pyramids, or the Colossus of Rhodes, religious devotees to the shrine of their favorite god. With a common language, ideas made their way rapidly from one part of the world to the other. Lectures and discussions on philosophical subjects were very common, indeed to a large extent took the place of reading, and the shibboleths of the philosophers were on the lips of the common man. In such an atmosphere new religions flourished, and old ones ~~were~~^{2.} re-vamped. It "was written in Virgil's poetry," says Glover, that the religions and philosophies of mankind must be thought over anew."

III.

Out of this welter of religions emerge several which deserve our special attention. To begin with, there were the philosophers who were trying to save the old gods. The Olympians had done nobly, but men had grown skeptical. Philoso-

1. Angus: Christianity and the Mystery Religions, p. 188.
2. Conflict of Religions, p. 32.

phers in any age may scoff at the gods of the populace, but they do not let the populace know it. The populace must have gods, to preserve order. The problem was to transform the old gods without destroying them. Allegory was the way out. When a myth became repulsive, it could be interpreted symbolically, and some spiritual meaning could be read into the crudest myth. And so 'twas said that "If Homer used no allegories he committed all iniquities."^{1.} Plutarch recognized that there were many things in the myth of Isis and Osiris that were disgusting. But myth, after all, said he,^{2.} "is a sort of rainbow to the sun of reason", and should be received "in a holy and philosophic spirit".^{3.} Myth "must be handled tenderly and not in too rationalistic a spirit."^{4.}

It was through a classical mystery that allegory first made its way into theology. It was adopted by the Orphics, and "arose from their desire to retain the maximum of primitive ritual and from the consequent necessity of reconciling the archaic with the modern, and of mysticizing the commonplace."^{5.} Allegory had this great advantage: it "enabled writers to link the present with the past; it could bring any ritual or drama into line with current ethics."^{6.} As we shall see presently, it arose among the Jews for the

1. Quoted by Gilbert Murray: Five Stages of Greek Religion, p. 202.

2. de Iside, 20. 358F, cited by Glover: Conflict, p. 106.

3. de Iside, 11. 355C, cited ib.

4. Glover: op. cit., p. 106.

5. Angus: Christianity and the Mystery Religions, p.155.

6. ib., p. 50.

same reason, that is, as a means of explaining away that in the sacred literature which a maturer moral sense or a broadened outlook had found repulsive. The process was quite similar to that which took place among the Greeks.

Philo, for example, whom we shall discuss at greater length presently, makes Hagar symbolize the Encyclia, or ordinary course of education of his time, consisting of literature, rhetoric, mathematics, music and logic.^{1.} These are preliminary to the study of philosophy. When Abraham "at the later stage...leaves the study of nature for the life of the wise...then will be cast forth those preliminary studies which bear the name of Hagar, and cast forth too will be their son the sophist named Ishmael."^{2.} "It is noteworthy," Colson and Whitaker remind us,^{3.} "that this comparison has a close parallel in one of the Homeric allegories, which were common in the philosophical schools. Some philosopher (the name is variously given) said that those who dwelt too long over the Encyclia were like the suitors of Penelope, who, when unable to win the mistress, contented themselves with the maids."

A little later than the time of the Fourth Gospel, Sallustius, in his "On the Gods and the World",^{4.} allegorized other of the old myths. He said that Kronos swallowing his children was a myth with theological implications: "Since

1. De Cher., paragraph 3. 2. ib., pars. 7,9.

3. Philo: Introduction, vol. I, p. xvi, note f.

4. Translated By Gilbert Murray: Five Stages of Greek Religion, pages 241-267.

God is intellectual, and all intellect returns into itself,^{1.} this myth expresses in allegory the essence of God." A well-known myth he explains thus: "in a banquet of the Gods Discord threw down a golden apple; the goddesses contended for it, and were sent by Zeus to Paris to be judged; Paris saw Aphrodite to be beautiful and gave her the apple. Here the banquet signifies the hyper-cosmic powers of the Gods; that is why they are all together. The golden apple is the world, which, being formed out of opposites, is naturally said to be 'thrown by Discord'. The different Gods bestow different gifts upon the world and are thus said to 'contend for the apple'. And the soul which lives according to sense --for that is what Paris is--not seeing the other powers in the world but only beauty, declares that the apple belongs to Aphrodite."^{2.} Sallustius allegorizes others of the myths.^{3.} Images of Aphrodite, he says,^{4.} represent her as naked "because harmony creates beauty, and beauty in things seen is not covered."

The noblest philosophy of the Graeco-Roman world, Stoicism, "compromised with the populace by taking over its myths and treating them esoterically by allegorical exegesis."^{5.} Thus the Stoics were able to "conserve the form of

1. op. cit., p. 243f.

2. ib., p. 245.

3. E.g., that of Attis; see op. cit., pp. 245ff.

4. op. cit., p. 249.

5. Angus: Christianity and the Mystery Religions, page 164.

popular religion while transforming the content."^{1.} Seneca and Epictetus were the evangelists of Stoicism. Abbott calls attention to certain ideas in the Fourth Gospel which were likely intended as special appeals to the followers of Epictetus.^{2.} "For example," he says, "the conception of the Son as 'testifying' or 'bearing witness' to the Father, can be illustrated far more fully from Epictetus than from the Prophets." In the Fourth Gospel Jesus promises that he will send the Spirit of truth and that truth will make them free.^{3.} Says Epictetus, "Freedom and slavery are, severally, names of virtue and vice. Both are results of will (προαιρέσεως).... No man is a slave as long as he keeps his will free. As for the man that cringes to fortune or to his fellow-men, 'Even though twelve rods' (the insignia of a consul) 'precede him, call him a slave'."

Under the head of 'trouble', however, it appears "that Jn is allusively dissenting from Epictetus, with whom 'freedom from trouble' was the highest of blessings. Not improbably, many things in the Fourth Gospel imply a similar dissent. For example, Jn lays great stress upon the fact that the Son does all things 'for the sake of' the Father or 'for the sake of' the disciples. But Epictetus says (i. 19. 11), "Whatever lives has been so framed as to do all things for its own sake (αὐτοῦ ἕνεκα). For even the sun does all things for its own sake, and, indeed, so does Zeus Himself."^{4.}

2. Johannine Vocabulary, p. 193f. 3. Fragm. 8, quoted ib., p. 212. 4. ib., p. 194.

1. Angus: Christianity and the Mystery Religions, p. 49.

In the second place there was the Judaism of the Diaspora, which also made use of allegory. "The use of the religious tale as the vehicle for ideas of high import was well known in later Judaism under the name of Haggadah"¹. The history of certain men was enshrined in commentaries or midfashim, such as are referred to in II Chronicles 13:22, II Chronicles 24:27, etc.

St. Paul several times uses allegory. Of the saying in Deuteronomy 25:4, "Thou shalt not muzzle the ox when he treadeth out the corn," he says: "Is it for the oxen that God careth, or saith he it assuredly for our sake? Yea, for our sake it was written: because he that ploweth ought to plow in hope, and he that ~~thresheth~~, to thresh in hope of partaking" (I Cor. 9:9f). Similarly, he says that the fathers in the wilderness "drank of a spiritual rock that followed them: and the rock was Christ" (I Cor. 10:4). Paul's best known allegory is the illustration of Abraham's two sons, "one by the handmaid, and one by the free-woman" (Gal. 4:22), one born "after the flesh," and one "through promise" (Gal. 4:23). "Which things contain an allegory: for these women are two covenants, one from mount Sinai, bearing children unto bondage, which is Hagar. Now this Hagar is mount Sinai in Arabia and answereth to the Jerusalem that now is: for she is in bondage with her

1. Carpenter: The Johannine Writngs, p. 245; refers to Streeter: The Four Gospels, p. 503.

children. But the Jerusalem that is above is free, which is our mother" (Gal. 4:24-26). Other Pauline allegories are to be found in II Corinthians 3:7-18, Galatians 3:16-19; there is also one in the Epistle to the Hebrews, chapter 7, verses 1 to 25.

Allegory was very popular among the Palestinian Rabbis. They had an elaborate system of Haggadah by which the significance of Scripture passages¹ was made plain. One group of the Haggadists, known as Doresche Reschumath, i.e., 'interpreters of hints', were chiefly concerned with "the estimating of Old Testament passages as symbols, whose figurative sense was far more important than the literal"². It is thought by some that their purpose was to win the heathen for ethical monotheism. Few traces of them have survived in Rabbinic literature because they "were felt to imperil the sacred Torah."

Akiba, for example, believed that the Song of Songs was an allegory of the unique relationship between God and Israel. He declared that "the whole world is not³ worth so much as the day on which the Song of Songs was given to Israel." In the comment on Song of Songs 3:8, the Shekinah is compared to a cave by the seashore: "The sea rushes in to the cave, filling it, but the sea is just as full as before. So the Shekinah pervades the Tabernacle or the Temple, but yet is quite as im-⁴manent, all-pervasive, in the world at large."

1. Kennedy: St. Paul &c., p. 52. 2. ib., p. 53.

3. ib., p. 51.

4. ib., p. 52. For a discussion of this school see Lauterbach: Jewish Quarterly Review, Jan., 1911, esp. p. 301.

The Alexandrian School, too, had made extensive use of allegory. Philo had sought to allegorize all the books of Moses. A Jew of the Diaspora, Philo is of especial interest to us because he was a contemporary of Jesus and Paul, although he shows no signs of acquaintance with either. He was born about 20 B.C. and died around 41 A.D. He lived in Alexandria which was at that time "probably....the most remarkable center of religious ferment in the Eastern world"^{1.} Though a Jew, he came in contact with Hellenic thought. In particular, he^{2.} was influenced by Plato, to whom he refers as "the most sacred Plato"; the Platonic doctrine of the divine archetype of all created things was in the background of all his thinking. In philosophy, however, he was an eclectic. The profound significance he finds in numbers--to us the most fantastic part of his system--was an inheritance from the Pythagoreans. There are places where he is influenced by Aristotle and the Sceptics, and there is a vast amount of the Stoic philosophy in his writings.^{3.}

Philo's purpose was "to demonstrate the universal validity of Jewish religion."^{4.} He accepts the literal inspiration of the text. "But at the same time he is profoundly conscious that the sacred words, when taken in their literal sense, are occasionally incredible, and not infrequently trivial, or at any rate inadequate, and therefore must conceal some underlying

1. Kennedy: Philo's Contribution &c., p. 8. 2. ib., p. 2.

3. See Colson and Whitaker: Philo, Introduction, vol. I, pp. xviiff.

4. Kennedy: op. cit., p. 31.

ing thought ($\dot{\upsilon}\pi\acute{o}\nu\omicron\lambda\alpha$), which patient meditation, aided by God's grace, cannot fail to extract".^{1.} Allegory was his way out. In his exposition of the Mosaic Law he "set himself as a rule to show that the details of ritual and biography were but rich symbolism veiling the story of the soul's progress from the sense-bound life of earth to the vision of perfect reality in God".^{2.} "The intellectual or moral difficulties of the Old Testament vanished when the proper standard of interpretation was applied to them. No material was left for the contemptuous criticism of pagan philosophers."^{3.}

The difficulty faced by Philo was the impossibility that certain of the Mosaic narratives could have happened in a literal sense. Speaking of Genesis 2:21, he says, "These words in their literal sense are of the nature of a myth ($\tau\acute{o}\ \rho\eta\tau\acute{o}\nu\ \epsilon\pi\acute{\iota}\ \tau\acute{o}\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\ \mu\upsilon\theta\acute{\omega}\delta\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma\ \epsilon\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\iota$). For how could anyone admit that a woman, or a human being at all, came into existence out of a man's side?"^{4.} He thinks also that Moses' description of the Garden of Eden is "intended symbolically rather than literally; for never yet have trees of life or of understanding appeared on earth, nor is it likely that they ever will appear hereafter."^{5.} Cain could not have "builded a city" by himself. "Why, he could not have built even the most insignificant part of a house without

1. Colson and Whitaker, vol. I, p. xiii.

2. Kennedy: op. cit., p. 2f. 3. ib., p. 3.

4. Leg. All., II.19.

5. De Opif. Mundi, 154.

employing others to work under him. Could the same man at the same moment do a stone-mason's work, hew timber, work iron and brass, surround the city with a great circuit of walls, construct great gateways and fortifications, temples and sacred enclosures, porticoes, arsenals, houses, and all other public and private buildings that are customary? Could he in addition to these construct drains, open up streets, provide fountains and conduits and all else that a city needs?"^{1.}

Genesis 4:16 records that "Cain went out from the face of God." This could not have happened literally, for God has no face: "For a face is a piece of a living creature, and God is a whole not a part, so that we shall have to assign to Him the other parts of the body as well, neck, breasts, hands, feet, to say nothing of the belly and genital organs, together with the innumerable inner and outer organs. And if God has human forms and parts, He must needs also have human passions and experiences".^{2.}

Accordingly, such passages are to be taken allegorically: "in the books in ^{which} Moses acts as God's interpreter we ought to take his statements figuratively (τροπικώτερον), since the impression made by the words in their literal sense is greatly at variance with truth."^{3.}

1. De Pos. Caini, 50.

2. ib., 3f.

3. ib., 1.

Up Upon this basis he proceeds with his allegorical interpretations. The "side" from which Eve was created was simply "a term of ordinary life for 'strength'."^{1.} By the Garden Moses signifies "the ruling power of the soul which is full of countless opinions, as it might be of plants; and by the tree of life he signifies reverence towards God, the greatest of the virtues, by means of which the soul attains to immortality; while by the tree that is cognisant of good and evil things he signifies moral prudence, the virtue that occupies the middle position, and enables us to distinguish things by nature^{2.} contrary the one to the other." The rivers in the Garden of Eden represent "the particular virtues. These are four in number, prudence, self-mastery, courage, justice."^{3.} The largest river, of which the four are effluxes, is generic virtue, which we have called 'goodness' (ἀρετή)."^{4.}

Cain and Abel represent opposing principles, love of self and love of God.^{5.} As regards Cain's building a city, "It would seem, then, since all this (i.e., a literal interpretation) is at variance with reality, that it is better to take the words figuratively, as meaning that Cain resolves to set up his own creed (δόγμα), just as one might set up a city."^{6.} "Now, every city needs for its existence buildings, and inhab-

1. Leg. All., II. 21.

2. De Opif. Mundi, 154.

3. The four cardinal virtues of Platonism.

4. Leg. All., I. 63; cf. De Pos. Caini, 128.

5. Quod Det., 32.

6. De Pos. Caini, 51.

itants, and laws. Cain's buildings are demonstrative arguments.^{1.} Philo solves the problem of where Cain got his wife by saying that 'wife' signifies "the opinion held by an impious man's reasoning faculty," the opinion, namely, that "the human mind is the measure of all things." "I gather that by 'wife' this opinion is meant from the fact that when Cain knew her she bore Enoch, and Enoch means 'thy gift'. For if man is the measure of all things, all things are a present and gift of the mind."^{2.}

Isaac's camels are "figures of memory, for the camel is a ruminating animal softening its food by chewing the cud. Moreover, when it has knelt and had a heavy load laid on it, it nimbly raises itself with astonishing agility. In the same way the soul of the keen learner also, when it has been laden with the mass of speculations, does not stoop indeed, but springs up rejoicing, and through repetition and (so to speak) rumination of the original deposit of (mental) food, gains power to remember the things^{3.} contemplated." Joseph's coat of many colors indicates that he (Joseph) "is the promulgator of a doctrine full of mazes and hard to disentangle."^{4.} The tent of Exodus 33:7 is "wisdom, in which the wise man tabernacles and dwells."^{5.}

The Mosaic narratives, then, "are no mythical fictions

1. De Pos. Caini, 52.
 3. ib., 148f.
 5. Leg. All., III. 46.

2. ib., 35.
 4. Quod Det., 6.

(μύθου πλάσματα) such as poets and sophists delight in, but modes of making ideas visible, bidding us resort to allegorical interpretation guided in our renderings by what lies beneath the surface (δείγματα τύπων ἐπ' ἀλληγορίαν παρακαλοῦντα κατὰ τὰς δι' ὑπονοῶν ἀποδόσεις)."^{1.}

In interpreting them Philo would have us heed this warning:^{2.}

"Do not let any subtle point escape your notice," he says, "for you will not find a single pointless expression" (παρατήρει δὲ πᾶσαν τὴν λεπτολογίαν, οὐδὲν γὰρ λεχθὲν παρίργως εὐρήσεις).

Allegory, he says, is "dear to ὁρατικοῖς ἄνδρασιν -- 'men of vision'."^{3.}

So much for the popular philosophies and the Judaism of the day. In the third place, there were the great mystery cults. These were mongrel religions, the offspring of the classical mysteries wedded to the Oriental cults which were invading the empire. There were the state mysteries of Eleusis, the mystery cults of the Great Mother, the mysteries of the Hermetic literature and of Mithraism, and a sort of Christian mystery, Gnosticism; there were secret cults for the worship of Attis, Isis, Osiris, Cybele, and a host of other nature deities. For the mysteries largely grew up through nature worship, and the belief that somehow the processes of Nature were

1. De Opif. Mundi, 157.

2. Leg. All., 147.

3. De Plantatione, 36.

analogous to the processes of the human soul. "Cornford makes the interesting observation that 'the seasonal round of vegetation' symbolized in such deities as Dionysus 'is a larger transcript of the phases of human existence, birth, and death, and rebirth in the wheel of reincarnation.' Hence Mystery¹Religion 'holds fast to the sympathetic principle that all life is one, and conceives nature under that form which seems to keep her processes most clearly in touch with the phases of human experience.'^{1.}" Angus explains^{2.} that the mystery religions "arose from the observation of the patent facts of recurring death and subsequent rebirth in nature, and from the attempt to see in these alternations of winter and spring, decay and generation, sunset and sunrise, a symbol of the life and hope of man and a replica of the divine life, which in primitive thought was conceived merely as the all-vitalizing energy resident in nature."

This origin of the mysteries can easily be seen in the sacred literature of Orphism, for example. Orphism was a reformation of Dionysian religion, and was itself later transformed into Pythagoreanism.^{3.} Its sacred literature^{4.} contains hymns to the usual deities of Greek and Roman mythology: Hecate, Pan, Hercules, Juno, Neptune, Pluto, Jupiter, Proteus, Mercury, Proserpina, Bacchus, Apollo, Latona, Diana, Pallas, the Fates, Mars, Vulcan. In addition, there are hymns to the

1. Kennedy: St. Paul and the Mystery Religions, page 207, note 1, quotes Cornford: From Religion to Philosophy, p. 111f.
 2. Christianity and the Mystery Religions, p. 43.
 3. cf. Kennedy: op. cit., p. 12.
 4. The Mystical Hymns of Orpheus, translated by Taylor.

heavenly bodies: Sun, Moon, Saturn. But chiefly do these hymns dwell on fertility in nature, as it shows itself in sex and in the productivity of the field. There are hymns to Ceres, "Only-begotten, much-producing queen";^{1.} to "Nature, all-parent, ancient and divine";^{2.} to Rhea, "Mother of Gods and men";^{3.} to the Clouds, "parents of prolific rains";^{4.} to Earth, "Endu'd with fertile, all-destroying force";^{5.} to the Seasons: "Give earth a store of blameless fruits to bear";^{6.} to the Nymphs, "Fructiferous Goddesses, who nourish flow'rs";^{7.} to Venus, "Prolific, most-desir'd, life-giving, kind";^{8.} and Health is hailed as "much desir'd, prolific, gen'ral queen".^{9.} Misa (Bacchus) is hailed as "Twofold Iacchus, male and female seen,"^{10.} because "this divinity comprehends in himself stable power and sameness, which are of a masculine characteristic, and the measures of life and prolific powers, which are feminine peculiarities. This mixture of the male and female in one and the same divinity," says Taylor,^{11.} "is no unusual thing in the Orphic theology."

Hermeticism was another widespread and very influential mystery.^{12.} It originated in Egypt under the Roman Empire.^{13.} It was fashioned, says Scott, by "men who had re-

1. The Mystical Hymns of Orpheus, p. 93.

2. ib., p. 29.

3. ib., p. 45.

4. ib., p. 57.

5. ib., p. 62.

6. ib., p. 97.

7. ib., p. 106.

8. ib., p. 114.

9. ib., p. 132.

10. ib., p. 95.

11. ib., note to page 95.

12. Kennedy: St. Paul and the Mystery Religions, p. 104, calls Egypt "the religious clearing house of the Hellenistic world."

13. Hermetica, p. 1, vol. I.

ceived some instruction in Greek philosophy, and especially in the Platonism of the period, but were not content with merely accepting and repeating the cut-and-dried dogmas of the orthodox philosophic schools, and sought to build up, on the basis of Platonic doctrine, a philosophic religion that would better satisfy their needs." The religion takes its name from Hermes Trismegistus, by which term the Greeks from the time of Herodotus had been accustomed to translate the name of the Egyptian god Thoth. The term Trismegistus, which is a translation of an epithet applied by the Egyptians to their god, was added to distinguish this Egyptian Hermes from the Greek Hermes.

The system was propagated by oral instruction to small groups; Scott remarks^{1.} that one of the advantages of Hermeticism was that, having no Scripture, it was free from bondage to tradition. But occasionally a teacher chose to put some of his ideas into writing, or a devoted disciple would chronicle the sayings of an adored teacher. Some of these writings deal with "astrology, magic, alchemy, and kindred forms of pseudo-science,"^{2.} but the more sober of them deal with the "religious and philosophic teachings ascribed to Hermes Trismegistus,"^{3.} and it is these latter which concern us here. We are told by Iamblichus that Manetho, an Egyptian priest who lived in the time of Ptolemy I, said that

1. Hermetica, vol. I, p. 7.

2. Hermetica, vol. I, p. 1.

3. ib.

Hermes wrote 36,525 books.^{1.} The same writer elsewhere quotes Seleucus to the effect that the number of books written by Hermes was 20,000. Lactantius, the earliest author who shows acquaintance with our Hermes, "confines himself to saying that Hermes Trismegistus wrote many books."^{2.} Of these there have come down to us seventeen^{3.} documents, or libelli, and fragments in Stobaeus, Lactantius, Cyril, and others. The former, constituting the Corpus Hermeticum, together with the excerpts and ~~grag~~menta, have been edited, with translation and^{4.} commentary, by Walter Scott in a magnum opus, *Hermetica*.

By a literary device common in antiquity, the writings are attributed to the god himself and are spoken of as "Discourses of Hermes Trismegistus". Hermes as a man lived in the time of King Ammon; he attained to γυναικας and after death became a god. It was as a man that he spoke and taught, but he left no writings. Writings which would have little authority when attributed to unknown men, would gain tremendously in importance if they professed to reveal the secret teaching of the god. Hence, instead of writing in their own name, man composed dialogues in which they made Hermes speak as teacher, so that now the "name of Hermes Trismegistus"^{5.} stands, like that of Homer, for a whole literature."

Though Egypt is the setting of these documents, and

1. ERE, vol. VI, p. 626, sec. 2.

2. ib.

3. Or twenty; see *Hermetica*, p. 17, note 1.

4. Three volumes, published by the Oxford University Press, 1924, 1925.

5. ERE, vol. VI, p. 626.

their "fervour and intensity of religious emotion" is Egyptian,^{1.} they are more Greek than Egyptian. We have already noted that they show the influence of Platonism; especially noteworthy is the impact of the *Timaeus*. But the Platonic element is modified by Stoic ingredients. Terms of the Stoic physics and cosmology are found frequently, and the influence of Posidonius (c. 100 B.C.--50 B.C.) can be clearly seen. There are a few subordinate Jewish elements, as, for example, the account of creation in *Libellus III*, but in general one may say that "What we have in them is the effect that was produced by Greek philosophy when it was adopted by men of Egyptian temperament."^{2.}

There are no Christian elements in the Hermetic literature; in fact, in one of the later documents, the Latin *Asclepius*, there is anti-Christian polemic.^{3.} The exact dates of the component parts of the Hermetic literature are, of course, unknown. External evidence proves that some of them were in existence by 207-13, and all by 310; for most of them, any date after Philo is possible.^{4.} They are the outgrowth of a system which had been in existence for a considerable period, so that we have in them a vivid picture of one of the many cults which flourished in the world in which the Fourth Gospel was written. The religion of Hermes Trismegistus is of peculiar interest to us

1. *Hermetica*, vol. I, p. 11.

2. *ib.*

3. See *Hermetica*, vol. I, pp. 61ff.

4. See *Hermetica*, vol. I, p. 8, p. 47; cf. Stanton: *The Gospels as Historical Documents*, p. 195.

because its great ideas are expressed in very much the same terms as the great ideas of the Fourth Gospel. Its dominant words are Logos, Light, Life. God is the "light of the world of mind"^{1.} and the "true life of the life of man";^{2.} He has created and He maintains the world by His Word, and there are other striking parallels--but these are to be examined in the next chapter.

Besides these religions which are mysteries in the strict sense, there was another religious movement, Gnosticism, which we may consider in this category. I have called it a movement, but movement is almost too definite a term for it; it was really an atmosphere^{3.} which belonged neither to one mystery nor another, but contained elements from many; so we may give it "the safely indefinite title of Gnosticism".

Though Gnosticism is usually regarded as a Christian heresy, it has all the ear-marks of the mysteries, and we may conveniently regard it as such. It was a syncretism of practically all the religious systems of antiquity, and had no quarrel with Christianity because it simply added Christ to its pantheon and went right on.

4.

We have noted that Irenaeus says the Fourth Gospel was directed against Cerinthus, one of the Gnostic teachers. Certain parts of it do seem obviously meant for the Gnostics.

1. Hermetica: Asclepius, sec. 41b.

2. ib.

3. Kennedy: St. Paul and the Mystery Religions, p. 17; elsewhere (p. 26) he says, "Gnosticism is one of the most flexible designations in the vocabulary of the history of religion." See p. 26f for a discussion of the various ways in which the term is used.

4. Supra, p. 65.

The Gnostics attempted to solve the problem of the existence of evil by saying that the world came into being through a series of emanations, each emanation being one stage farther from Perfection. The Fourth Evangelist insists at the very outset that it was created in no such mediate fashion: "All things were made by him; and without him was not anything made that hath been made" (1:3). ~~According to~~ Basilides, another of the Gnostic teachers, said that Christ "did not himself suffer death, but Simon, a certain man of Cyrene, being compelled, bore the cross in his stead; so that this latter being transfigured by him, so that he might be thought to be Jesus, was crucified, through ignorance and error, while Jesus himself received the form of Simon, and, standing by, laughed at them." ^{1.} Perhaps ^{the early prevalence of this belief that Jesus' death upon the cross was not genuine, explains the fact that the Fourth Evangelist} ~~this explains one of the Fourth Evangelist's~~ ~~into omission.~~ He makes no mention of Simon, but instead insists that Jesus went out "bearing the cross for himself" (αὐτῷ --19:17). Cerinthus said that Christ never existed ^{2.} before he was born of Mary. This, too, the Fourth Evangelist denies at the outset: "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God" (1:1).

The Docetists taught "that the body of Christ was not real flesh and blood, but merely a deceptive, transient phantom, and consequently that he did not really suffer and

1. Irenaeus: Adv. Haeres., I. xxiv. 4. We are dependent upon Irenaeus for most of our information about Gnosticism.
 2. Burkitt: Two Lectures on the Gospels, p. 64.

die and rise again."^{1.} The Fourth Evangelist is the only Gospel writer who records that when Jesus' side was pierced with a spear, "there came out blood and water" (αἷμα καὶ ὕδωρ --19:34). Medical science has been called in to prove that if Jesus died of a broken heart, such would have been the result--there would have flown out blood and a plasma resembling water. We believe, rather, that it is simply the Evangelist's way of combatting this Docetist heresy: Jesus' body of flesh and blood actually did suffer on the Cross.

Certain omissions in the Fourth Gospel may be set down as anti²Gnostic. The absence of the word πίστις has been often remarked. Wherever the idea of faith occurs, it is always the verb form that is used. While this makes an excellent homily demonstrating that faith is active and reaching out, not passive and recipient,^{2.} one is inclined to think that the real reason for its rigid exclusion from the Gospel is the fact that πίστις was one of the Gnostic aeons. γνῶσις and σοφία are words which we should expect but do not find in the Fourth Gospel--these too were the names of Gnostic aeons.^{3.}

It was in this very religious world that the early church struggled for its existence and the Fourth Evangelist

1. Schaff: History of the Christian Church, vol. II, p. 497.

2. cf. Watt: The Intuition of God, p. 105: πιστεύειν εἰς expresses "that dedicatory attitude of the whole personality towards Christ which, for this writer, is the basis of all things."

3. Irenaeus gives a list of the Gnostic aeons; see Ante-Nicene Fathers, vol. I, note to p. 316.

wrote his Gospel. It is interesting to note in this connection that Christianity was thought of by some as a mystery religion. "You know," says Lucian,^{1.} "they still worship that great man of theirs, who was put on a gibbet in Palestine, because he added this new mystery (τελευτήν) to human life." It is possible that Clement of Alexandria was initiated into the mysteries; in his Protrepticus he gives an account of many of them, which is of great value in letting us know what they were like.^{2.} In the preface to his Homilies on St. John, written about 390 A.D., Chrysostom warns his hearers thus: "ye who have been initiated know what manner of covenants ye made with us, or rather ye made with Christ when He guided you into His mysteries, what ye spoke to Him, what speech ye had with Him concerning Satan's pageant (πομπήs); how with Satan and his angels ye renounced this also, and promised that you would not so much as cast a glance that way, There is then no slight ground for fear, lest, by becoming careless of such promises,^{3.} one should render himself unworthy of these mysteries."

It is also interesting to note that the mysteries had some influence on Christianity. In the church's battle with them there was a certain give and take, and it is the old story of Christianity's conquering paganism by taking over all the best that it had to offer.^{4.} Dean Inge says that "The main

1. Cited by Glover: Conflict, p. 212.

2. ib., p. 269.

3. Homilies on St. John, vol. I, p. 7.

4. Christian Mysticism, p. 354.

features of the Mystery-system which passed into Catholicism are the notions of secrecy, of symbolism, of mystical brotherhood, of sacramental grace, and, above all, of the three stages in the spiritual life, ascetic purification, illumination, and *ἐποπτεία* as the crown."

What have the mysteries in common? One lays aside the literature of these religions with the feeling that after all God has made of one blood all nations that on earth do dwell, and that the Patagonian and the Presbyterian, the first century cynic and his twentieth century counterpart, have the same longings and the same needs. The literature of the mysteries is filled with human fears and doubts, human hopes and strivings. From this mass of feelings expressed and unexpressed, certain well-defined longings appear. E.F.Scott¹ says that "Gnosticism, though it spent itself at a later time in wild and futile imaginations, would never have arisen unless it had responded in some measure to an authentic longing in the human soul." This was true of all these religions. The mysteries wrestled with real problems, and aimed at bringing peace to men in a troubled world. They express the longings that are common to all mankind.

One is the longing for individual salvation. Alexander had upset the world, and the individual had rebelled against the corporate body; the man in the street wanted to assert himself. The mysteries appealed because they were di-

1. The Fourth Gospel, p. 103.

rected to this longing; they took account of the cry of the human soul for recognition and deliverance. The mysteries were private, not national. In them a man obtained salvation by his own efforts; it did not come to him by reason of his having been born into a certain community. Angus^{1.} points out that this was the most revolutionary change brought about by the mysteries; through it, "men abandon a religion into which they were born as citizens and voluntarily associate themselves in religious congregations."

From what he wished to be saved, the individual was not so sure. He knew only that his soul was sick and that there was no health in him. Men took refuge in asceticism, thinking thereby to save themselves from themselves, but they found that lashing the body could not silence the cries of the soul. This is what Professor Gilbert Murray calls the third stage of Greek religion; describing it, he says, there is "a rise of asceticism, of mysticism, in a sense, of pessimism; a loss of self-confidence, of hope in this life and of faith in normal human effort; a despair of patient inquiry, a cry for infallible revelation; an indifference to the welfare of the state, a conversion of the soul to God."^{2.}

A second longing of the age is the longing for a personal Savior. Mankind needs a god whom it can see. No sooner do Paul and Barnabas come to Lystra than men try to make gods out of them.^{3.} The Romans deified their emperors. Yet

1. Christianity and the Mystery Religions, p. 203.

2. Quoted by Eakin: Getting Acquainted with the NT, p.259.

3. Acts 14:12.

these were no gods, and the mysteries had no one to whome they could point. "Where will you find him whom we have been seeking so many ages?" asks Seneca.^{1.} Plutarch wrote, "He is nowhere on earth, nor ever has been."^{2.}

A third longing was for immortality; "the hope of immortality and the hope of existence," says Plutarch,^{3.} "is the most venerable and the mightiest of all affections." Salvation (*σωτηρία*) in the mysteries, says Kennedy,^{4.} "means primarily deliverance from the tyranny of an omnipotent Fate, which may crush a human life at any moment. Death, and its unknown terrors, will be Fate's most appalling visitation. Hence the element prized above all others in *σωτηρία* is the assurance of a life which death cannot quench, a victorious immortality." And of the various mystery cults he says elsewhere,^{5.} "Whatever name they bear, their ultimate aim was identical--to raise the soul above the transiency of perishable matter to an immortal life through actual union with the Divine."

It was a hungry world, this in which the Fourth Gospel was written; hungry for the very things Christianity had to give. It was the Fourth Evangelist who offered to it living water, and bread from heaven. The Fourth Gospel is the Gospel for the followers of the mystery cults. By speaking

1. Quoted by Angus: The Mystery Religions and Christianity, page 227.

2. Quoted ib., p. 311.

3. Non posse suav. 26, quoted by Angus: The Religious Quests of the Graeco-Roman World, p. 20.

4. St. Paul and the Mystery Religions, p. 199.

5. ib., p. 78f.

their language, the Evangelist at once attracts the followers of these religions and shows them, in terms they can understand, the superiority of Jesus to all of their mystery cults.

IV.

We have finally to note that all these problems were localized in Greek Ephesus, the city in which our Gospel was written. Ephesus was a thriving city of great commercial importance. It stood at the meeting place of trade routes from east and west. It was the metropolis of the Roman province of Asia Minor. "During the Roman Empire it ranked with Antioch and Alexandria as one of the three great emporia of the trade of the Eastern Mediterranean, and formed the commercial capital for the wide and varied territory west of the Cilician gates."¹ Ephesus was important also as a center of art. The great painters Parrhasius of the fifth century B.C. and Apelles of the fourth belonged to the city, which also boasted the largest Greek theater in Asia Minor, indeed in the ancient world: it is reputed to have accommodated fifty thousand spectators.

Moreover, Ephesus was an important religious and philosophic center: "Great is Diana of the Ephesians" (Acts 19:28), "whom all Asia and the world worshippeth" (Acts 19:27). The Ephesian temple of Diana, or Artemis, was one of

1. EGT: Introduction to the Epistle to the Ephesians.

the seven wonders of the ancient world. It is said to have taken 220 years in building. In it was treasured an image of the goddess which, it was believed, "fell down from Jupiter" (Acts 19:35). The city prided itself upon being "temple-keeper of the great Diana" (Acts 19:35). Ephesus was the home of Heracleitus, one of the greatest of the Stoic philosophers. Philosophical and religious teachers gathered round them small coteries and lived by the fees they paid them; see I Thess. 2:9; Phil. 4:16; Acts 18:3; Acts 20:34.^{1.}

Thus, as a meeting place for travellers from many directions and as a cultural and religious center, Ephesus was a strategic point for the spread of the Gospel. St. Paul founded a church there at the end of his second missionary journey, and later remained there for over two years (Acts 19:1,10); it is not improbable that it was from this city that he wrote the Epistles hitherto supposed to have been written from Rome.^{2.} His preaching stirred up considerable excitement on the part of Demetrius and certain of his fellow-craftsmen who gained their livelihood by fashioning representations of the goddess (Acts 19:23-41). Following St. Paul, Apollos taught there; Apollos was a Jew, born at Alexandria, fresh from the school of Philo, and a keen student of the Scriptures. Timothy seems to have been stationed in Ephesus for a time (I Tim. 1:3). According to tradition,^{3.}

1. cf. Duncan: St. Paul's Ephesian Ministry, p. 264f.

2. See Duncan: St. Paul's Ephesian Ministry.

3. HDB, art. Ephesus.

Timothy, John and the Virgin Mary were buried there. In such a city laboured the Fourth Evangelist. Perhaps something of the success that he had in his own day can be judged from the fact that the church of Ephesus is mentioned first of the "seven churches" of Revelation 1:11; 2:1. Justinian built there one of his magnificent temples, dedicating it to St. John.

The writing of the Fourth Gospel was not a thing done in a corner, and in this chapter we have seen something of its relation to the world in which it was written; we shall see more in the following chapter. The Graeco-Roman world of the first and second centuries was a very religious world. The Judaism of the Diaspora, as typified by Philo, was trying desperately to re-take its old position in the world. The gods of Hellenism were dying, and the philosophers were trying to rejuvenate them. Alexander had made all things new, and the world was suddenly aware of its newness. The old gods not sufficing, new ones were imported; the importation of gods was a process that was hastened by the previously unheard of facilities for travel. Christianity was in danger of succumbing to this syncretism. Gnosticism and other Christian heresies had put in the first of the appearances with which they have been constantly dogging the steps of orthodoxy, ghosts that have not been dowed to this day. The popular religions of the day, the great mystery cults, were the

result of the blending of all these elements with a primitive nature worship. Certain words like Logos, Light, Life were "catch-words of the contemporary Zeit-geist". The Fourth Evangelist uses these words, at once to acknowledge the broken lights of God's truth which they conveyed, and to show how they found their fullest and completest expression in Jesus, a man who had lived in Nazareth a few years before.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE LEADING IDEAS OF THE GOSPEL

The Fourth Gospel, then, was written in a world^{1.} which was filled with religious longings. We noted that the presence of the word *λόγος* in the very first verse of the Gospel was an indication that it was a word well known to the men for whom the Gospel was originally intended. As we read on through the Gospel we find certain words occurring frequently: light, life, truth, work. It will be observed at once that these are the ideas of all mankind; they are the common coin of thought which circulate throughout the world; if men are to talk at all, they must use such terms as these. However, as we are about to see, these words all had special significance for the Fourth Evangelist's contemporaries. Let us now examine these leading ideas of the Gospel and their relation to the leading ideas of the age. We begin with *λόγος*.

I.

λόγος is a thought-form which was derived from two sources, and made its way into the Christian system through a third. *λόγος* was a familiar term in Greek philosophy. In the sixth century B. C., in Ephesus, the very city in which the Fourth Gospel was written, Heracleitus,^{2.} in contrast to pre-

1. Supra, p. 63.

2. Dean Inge terms him "the great speculative mystic of Ephesus"--Christian Mysticism, p. 77. Justin Martyr claims him "as a Christian before Christ"--ib.

vious Greek philosophers who had tried to find a physical basis for everything, discovered a *λόγος*, or principle of reason at work in the universe. In the orderly arrangement of the cosmos he detected the working of a power analogous^{1.} to the reasoning power in man; this he called *ὁ λόγος*.

This conception of the *λόγος* was taken over by the Stoics, to bridge the gap between the Platonic world of true being and the actual world of human experience. "They abandoned the theory of super-sensible archetypes, and fell back on the simpler hypothesis of Heraclitus, that the universe is pervaded through all its parts with an eternal reason!"² *λόγος* was used by them as the equivalent of anima mundi. Marcus Aurelius uses the term *σπερματικός λόγος* to express the generative principle or creative force in nature.^{3.} This *λόγος*, which is the governing principle of the universe, resides also in each man's soul, and it is each man's duty to lift himself above all that limits him and realize his identity with the *λόγος*.

This conception among the Stoics was a very noble one, and had its effect in elevating character. The thought that God and man were of one essence was ennobling. "The

1. cf. Leighton: *The Field of Philosophy*, p. 60: "The Logos is the divine reason immanent in the cosmos.... This conception of Heraclitus is the ancestor of our doctrine of natural law."

2. E. F. Scott: *The Fourth Gospel*, p. 147.

3. cf. Dods: *EGT on John*, p. 683f.

1.
fabric which you see," said Seneca, "is one. We are mem-
bers of a great body." 2.
"The end," said Diogenes Laertius,
"is to act in conformity with nature, that is, at once with
the nature which is in us and with the nature of the uni-
verse, doing nothing forbidden by that common law which is
the right reason that pervades all things, and which is, in-
deed, the same in the Divine Being who administers the uni-
versal system of things." This made for a fine humanitarian
emphasis. Stoics condemned gladiatorial combats and "soft-
ened and broadened and humanized Roman Law." 3.

The Hebrews, too, had the idea of an all-pervading
world spirit of reason. With them it was known as Wisdom,
and by it they sought to solve the same problem as that with
which the Stoics had been dealing, the problem, namely, of
how the Transcendent can be brought into contact with the
world. Throughout the book of Job and the book of Proverbs,
we meet with the figure of Wisdom as the intermediary between
God and the world. 4.
In a beautiful passage in Proverbs 8, a
chapter which is said to contain the only metaphysics in the
Old Testament, Wisdom is represented as walking abroad in the
land, calling unto men to follow her (Proverbs 8:1-21). In
another passage she has builded her a house and makes a ban-
quet, to which are invited all those "void of understanding"

1. Quoted by Glover: Conflict, p. 63.

2. vii. I. 53, quoted ib., p. 39

3. ib., p. 63.

4. E.g., Job 28:12-28; Proverbs 2:6; 3:13ff; 4:5-9, etc.

(9:1ff). And in a bold passage which the Fourth Evangelist was evidently imitating in his Prologue, Wisdom is made to say, "Jehovah possessed me in the beginning of his way,
 Before his works of old.
 I was set up from everlasting, from the beginning,
 Before the earth was.
 When there were no depths, I was brought forth,
 When there were no fountains abounding with water.
 Before the mountains were settled,
 Before the hills was I brought forth;
 While as yet he had not made the earth, nor the fields,
 Nor the beginning of the dust of the world.
 When he established the heavens, I was there:
 When he set a circle upon the face of the deep,
 When he made firm the skies above,
 When the fountains of the deep became strong,
 When he gave to the sea its bound,
 That the waters should not transgress his commandment,
 When he marked out the foundations of the earth;
 Then I was by him, as a master workman;
 And I was daily his delight,
 Rejoicing always before him,
 Rejoicing in his habitable earth;
 And my delight was with the sons of men."¹

Later rabbinical writers also attributed special significance to the $\alpha \gamma \omega \gamma$, or Word of God, allusions to which are fairly frequent in the Old Testament. $\alpha \gamma \omega \gamma$ is derived from $\gamma \alpha \gamma$, to speak. God had but to speak and light was brought forth (Gen. 1:3), and at his Word the earth took shape (Gen. 1:6,9,11,14,20,24). "By the word of the Lord were the heavens made," sang the Psalmist (Ps. 33:6). The words themselves carried creative force. Thus, the Hebrews avoided attributing to Yahweh all implications of labor or effort.² The word represented "the double energy of thought and speech."³ By it "God could communicate himself to his peo-

1. Proverbs 8: 22-31.

2. cf. Carpenter: The Johannine Writings, p. 291, note 1.

3. ib., p. 292.

ple, and at the same time sustain the universe."¹ In the Rabbinic expositions of Genesis, it was said that the waters above the heavens were kept in place by the creative אֶלֶף בֵּינָם. And how often do we read in the Old Testament that "The word of the Lord came unto the prophet", giving to him vision and strength and courage.

Thus, the conception of God's Word as the expression of God's idea, came, along two lines, to represent God's intermediary between Himself and the world. It was Philo who united the two. Being at once a Jew and acquainted with Greek culture, he proceeded to identify the Word of the Old Testament with the Stoic λόγος. And in uniting the two he created a conception which is neither completely Jewish nor yet wholly Greek. The Stoics considered the λόγος as an ultimate principle, self-existing--there was no need to go any further back: it explained everything. But Philo began from the fundamental Jewish conception of the supreme God; the λόγος he regarded as the manifestation of this God's energy and self-revelation, although when thinking of its creative power he allows himself to speak of it as δεύτερος Θεός. Thinking of his Greek background, Philo makes the λόγος "the agency by which God reveals himself. The appearances of God recorded in the Old Testament are explained by Philo as manifestations of the Logos."² It was by means

1. Carpenter: The Johannine Writings, p. 292.

2. E. F. Scott: The Fourth Gospel, p. 152.

of the λόγος that God communicated with patriarchs and prophets, and it is through the λόγος that man is able to lay hold of the higher spiritual life and obtain salvation.

Philo attributes great power to God's λόγος . By it, he says, the world was made: "God spake and it was done--no interval between the two--or it might suggest a truer view to say that His word was deed. Now even amongst us mortals there is nothing swifter than word, for the outrush of the parts of speech leaves behind the hearer's understanding of them."^{1.} The λόγος is the "charioteer of the Divine powers",^{2.} and in it are combined the two aspects of the Divine Being,^{3.} "Beneficent goodness" and "authority".

It is by the λόγος, too, Philo says, that contact between God and man is made possible. He speaks of "the gracious God, the Saviour, who has imparted to the race of men his choice and chiefest gift, intimate kinship with his own Logos."^{4.} "Every man, so far as his understanding (διάνοια) is concerned, is intimately related to the Divine Logos, an impress or particle or effulgence of the blessed nature, while as regards his bodily status he is closely akin to the whole cosmos."^{5.} This relation to the Divine Logos is best seen in Conscience, which for Philo is "the divine agent in the soul,"^{6.}

1. De Sacr., sec. 65.

2. De Fuga, 101; quoted by Kennedy: Philo's Contribution to Religion, p. 161.

3. See De Cherub., 27; Kennedy, p. 144.

4. De Exsecr., 163; Kennedy, p. 118.

5. De Opif. Mundi, 146; Kennedy, p. 109.

6. Cited by Kennedy, p. 109f.

"the energy of the Divine Logos actually present in the soul."^{1.}
 Carrying out the idea of Mediatorship, Philo ascribes to the
 Logos the title "High Priest".^{2.} In a passage which at once
 points backwards to Greek philosophy and forward to the Jo-
 hannine Gospel, Philo says, "The Father of the universe has
 brought the Logos into being as His eldest Son....; and he
 who was begotten, imitating the ways of his Father, and look-
 ing to His archetypal patterns, kept forming the separate
 species."^{3.}

Thus it will be seen that when the Fourth Evangel-
 ist uses the term $\lambda\acute{o}\gamma\omicron\varsigma$ he is using a term that was well
 known in the philosophies and in Judaism. Further, it had
 acquired almost technical meaning in the mysteries. In the
 Hermetic literature we find it stated that the Word is "of
 creative nature, being fecund and life-giving."^{4.} It played
 an important part in creation.^{5.} Poimandres, in explaining
 how "the elements came into being," says, "The watery sub-
 stance, having received the Word, was fashioned into an or-
 dered world." The earth and water "were kept in motion, by
 reason of the breath-like Word which moved upon the face of
 the water."^{6.} At the creation, "the Lord of all spoke with his
 own holy and creative speech, and said, 'Let the sun be'. "^{7.}

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1. Cited by Kennedy: Philo's Contribution, p. 147.
 2. De Fuga, 108ff; De Migr. Abr., 102; cited, Kennedy, p. 161.
 3. Quoted by Macgregor, p. 174f.
 4. Fragment 35, from Cyril: c. Julianum, 920 D; Hermetica, vol. I, p. 549.
 5. Hermetica: Lib. I, sec. 8b.
 6. ib., sec. 5b.
 7. Fragment 33, Cyril: c. Julianum, 588b; Hermetica, vol. I, p. 547.

"For God's Word, who is all-accomplishing and fecund and creative, went forth, and flinging himself upon the water, which^{1.} was a thing of fecund nature, made the water pregnant!"

It is by means of the Logos that the Creator continues to move in creation. The material world "has over it as ruler the creative Word of the Master of all. That Word is, next after Him, the supreme Power, a Power ungenerated, boundless, that has stooped forth from Him; and the Word presides over and governs the things that have been made through him."^{2.} Hermes explains to Tat,^{3.} "The Word of the Maker (ὁ τοῦ δημιουργοῦ λόγος), my son, is everlasting, self-moved, without increase or diminution, immutable, incorruptible....he is ever like to himself and equal to himself, equable, stable, well-ordered; after the supreme God he stands alone."

II.

The second leading idea of the Gospel which we have to note is the idea of Light. The word φῶς occurs in Mark once, in Matthew seven times, in Luke seven times, in the^{4.} Fourth Gospel twenty-two times. The Evangelist represents Jesus as proclaiming himself the light of the world. The occasion of his doing so was his visit to Jerusalem at the feast of tabernacles. This feast was observed annually by the Jews to commemorate their forty years in the wilderness, during

1. Fragm. 27, from Cyril: c. Julianum, 552 D; Hermetica I, 545.

2. Fragm. 28, from ib.; Hermetica I, 545.

3. Fragm. 30, from Cyril: c. Julianum, 553 A,B; Hermetica vol. I, p. 547.

4. Abbott: Johannine Vocabulary, p. 209.

which time they had been guided by a cloud by day and a pillar of fire by night. To remind themselves of this, the temple court during this festival was brilliantly lighted.^{1.} And so, as Jesus stood in Solomon's porch, he pointed to the torches that were striving to make the dark world bright, and said, "I am the light of the world: he that followeth me shall not walk in the darkness, but shall have the light of life" (8:12). On other occasions, too, the Fourth Evangelist represents Jesus as proclaiming himself the light of the world: "I am come a light into the world, that whosoever believeth on me may not abide in the darkness" (12:46). "When I am in the world, I am the light of the world" (9:5).

In connection with the Evangelist's outright preaching of the term, it is interesting to note the incidental play of the forces of light and darkness throughout his book. Nicodemus comes by night (3:2; cf. 19:39); the remorseful Judas "having received the sop went out straightway: and it was night" (13:30); the arrest of Jesus is made by night: the soldiers come "with lanterns and torches and weapons"; Mary Magdalene came to the tomb "while it was yet dark" (20:1); the post-resurrection meal beside the Galilean lake occurs "when day was now breaking" (21:4).

The Fourth Evangelist makes light a symbol of the ministry of Jesus. Jesus breaks the Sabbath in order to bring light to the eyes of the man born blind. Light brings

1. cf. Dods: EGT on John 8:12.

safety: "Are there not twelve hours in the day? If a man walk in the day, he stumbleth not, because he seeth the light of this world. But if a man walk in the night, he stumbleth, because the light is not in him" (11:9,10). Light too enables men to do their work: "We must work the works of him that sent me, while it is day: the night cometh, when no man can work" (9:4). "Jesus therefore said unto them, Yet a little while is ~~the~~ light among you. Walk while ye have ~~the~~ light, that darkness overtake you not: and he that walketh in the darkness knoweth not whither he goeth. While ye have the light, believe on the light, that ye may become sons of light" (12:35,36). Light also judges between men. Its very presence makes men choose whether they will be sons of light or sons of darkness: "And this is the judgment, that the light is come into the world, and men loved the darkness rather than the light; for their works were evil. For everyone that doeth evil hateth the light, and cometh not to the light, lest his works should be reprov'd. But he that doeth the truth cometh to the light, that his works may be made manifest, that they have been wrought in God" (3:19-21).

Now, we find that light, like Logos, was a word that was in common use ~~as~~ a religious term in the Mediterranean world of the first and second century. As a matter of fact, the word light has always had a prominent place in the religious vocabulary. Hastings' Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics devotes some twenty pages to the article 'Light and

Darkness", treating the two concepts as they have been found in Primitive, Chinese, Christian, Greek, Roman, Hindu, Iranian, Semitic and Egyptian religions. Light and Darkness are two of the elemental forces symbolized by the Taoist Yang and Yin, and the dualism of Zoroaster practically resolves itself into a conflict between light and darkness; Ahura Mazda, the good spirit who is the author and giver of light, has given his name to the incandescent bulbs used in our homes. I have in Syria seen at least two places where the sun was worshipped. In Baalbek, where are the most extensive ruins of Greek antiquity outside the Acropolis, are temples to Venus, Bacchus, and Jupiter. The temple of Jupiter is so situated that the "holy of holies" catches the first rays of the rising sun. The city was ~~anciently~~ called Heliopolis, and as such was a member of the Dekapolis. Heliopolis is situated on a beautiful plain and one has but to see the sun burst gloriously over the fertile area to understand why it should have been worshipped there. The other place is on the top of Mt. Hermon, in a hewn cave in which we slept one night. The rising sun throws Hermon's shadow in a perfect triangle out across the Mediterranean, while the setting sun throws an equally perfect triangle out across the Syrian desert. This cave also is placed so as to get the first rays of the rising sun. For an hour or so before the shades of night have been driven from the valleys below, it is broad daylight on the mountain top.

The reason for the religious significance attached to this natural phenomenon is not far to seek: light and darkness are the two most obvious things in the universe. They follow each other in regular succession, and each is all-enveloping. One cannot but believe that

"Light will repay
The wrongs of night."¹

Light, too, was not without significance in the Jewish religion. In the oracle to Cyrus, recorded by Deutero-Isaiah, Jehovah says, "I form the light and create darkness" (Isa. 45:7). According to the story in Genesis, light was the first thing God created; He made it on the opening day of the world (Gen. 1:1-3). Job lists light among the wonders of creation calculated to impress man with the greatness of God. Dr. Moffatt's translation makes the reference especially striking: "What path leads to the home of Light, and where does Darkness dwell? Can you conduct them to their fields, and lead them home again?" (Job 38:19,20). The Psalmist praises Yahweh as one "who coverest thyself with light as with a garment" (Ps. 104:2). Throughout the Old Testament, ineffable light surrounds the presence of Yahweh (Ex. 24:10; Ezek. 1:28; cf. Isa. 60:1-3, 19f; etc.).

When the Fourth Evangelist speaks in terms of light and darkness, then, he is but using language familiar to men everywhere. Yet light was a word that had special signifi-

1. Frances Quarles: Emblems, Bk. I, Emblem 14.

cance for the world in which the Fourth Gospel was written.^{1.}
 The Essenes are said to have made a daily prayer to the sun.^{2.}
 Philo "is fascinated by the beauty of light, in which he
 finds a continual source of illustrations of spiritual pro-
 cesses." In a beautiful passage^{3.} he expresses his grati-
 tude that even in the midst of life's engulfing flood he is
 "illuminated by the radiance of wisdom, not delivered over for
 ever to the sway of darkness." He asserts that the "invisible
 light perceptible only by mind (ἀόρατον καὶ νοητόν) has come
 into being as an image of the Divine Word (θείου λόγου.... εἰκὼν)
 Who brought it within our ken: it is a supercelestial con-
 stellation, fount of the constellations obvious to sense".^{4.}
 "For neither do sun and moon need an interpreter, because
 their rising by day or night fills the whole world with
 light. Their shining is a proof that needs no further wit-
 ness, established by the evidence of the eyes, an evidence
 clearer than^{5.}the ears can give."

Light had even greater significance for the mystery
 religions. "The monuments," says Patterson,^{6.} "represent
 Mithra either as a child or a young man issuing from a rock....
 The sky is a rock-vault. The Sanskrit or Persian word asman
 means rock or sky. Mithra and Asman are closely associated
 in the Avesta. Mithra born from the rock is, therefore, the
 personification of light darting from the sky." Aesculapius,

1. See Kennedy: St. Paul and the Mystery Religions, p.59.
 2. Kennedy: Philo's Contribution, p. 12; refers to De
 Abr. 156ff; De Ebriet. 44. 3. De Spec. Leg. iii, 4-6.
 4. De Opif. Mundi, sec. 31. 5. De Sac., sec. 34.
 6. Mithraism and Christianity, p. 12; cf. Glassey: The
 Mysteries and Christianity, p. 121f.

the Savior and Healer for the Graeco-Roman world, had been called by Aristophanes, "the great Light of men"^{1.} The Orphic rites included a hymn to Aesculapius, "skill'd to heal mankind",^{2.} and Proclus, in his very eloquent hymn to the Sun says that Aesculapius springs into light from the bland dance of the Sun.^{3.} In the Orphic hymns Jupiter is hailed as "the mighty, holy, splendid light",^{4.} and the Orphic prayer to the Sun concludes:

"Propitious on these mystic labors shine,
And bless thy suppliants with a life divine."^{5.}

Light is a very important word in the vocabulary of Hermeticism. There are certain gods perceptible by sense "who make all things throughout the sensible world, working one through another, each pouring light into the things he makes."^{6.} In the prayer contained in the Epilogue to the Asclepius,^{7.} the author says, "we have learnt to know thee, O thou most brightly shining light of the world of mind" (*lumen maximum solo intellectu sensibili (um)*). It is by God's own goodness that he has attained to this light: "We thank thee, O thou Most High, with heart and soul wholly uplifted to thee; for it is by thy grace alone that we have attained to the light, and come to know thee."^{8.} In Libellus VII it is said that the House of Knowledge (i.e., of God) is a place where "you will

1. Plutarch 640; see Angus: *Quests*, p. 434.

2. Taylor, p. 130f.

3. Taylor, note to p. 130.

4. Taylor, p. 56.

5. Taylor, p. 24.

6. *Hermetica*: Asclepius III, sec. 19b.

7. *ib.* sec. 41b.

8. *ib.*

find the bright light which is pure from darkness"^{1.} When a man apprehends the beauty of the Good, it "bathes his mind in light....and changes the whole man into eternal substance"^{2.}

The sun, which is the source of physical life, plays an important role in the cosmology of Hermeticism. In a discourse with Hermes,^{3.} Tat inquires, "What then can we call real, father?" Hermes answers: "The sun alone; because the Sun, unlike all other things, does not suffer change, but continues to be as he is. Wherefore the Sun alone has been entrusted with the task of making all things in the universe; he rules over all things, and makes all things. Him do I worship, and I adore his reality, acknowledging him, next after the one supreme God, as the Maker." The Sun is represented as the Demiurge which "brings together heaven and earth",^{4.} "the preserver and maintainer of every kind of living beings."^{5.} "The Sun....is an image of the Maker who is above the heavens; for even as that supreme Maker made the whole universe, so the Sun makes the animals and the plants".^{6.}

From light come all things that are good. In "A Discourse of Hermes Trismegistus to Asclepius" (^{7.} Ἑρμοῦ τρισμαγίστου πρὸς Ἀσκληπίον), Asclepius inquires, "What is the Good?" Hermes answers, "The Good is the archetypal Light; and Mind and

1. Sec. 2a.

2. Hermetica: Lib. X, sec. 6.

3. Excerpt II A from Stobaeus, sec. 14.

4. Lib. XVI, sec. 5.

5. ib., sec. 12.

6. Excerpt XXI from Stobaeus, sec. 2.

7. Lib. II, sec. 12b.

Truth are, so to speak, rays emitted by that Light." When the mind is illumined by the knowledge of God, "By the light of mind the human soul is illumined, as the world is illumined by the sun,--nay, in yet fuller measure. For all things on which the sun shines are deprived of his light from time to time by the interposition of the earth, when night comes on; but when mind has once been interfused with the soul of man, there results from the intimate blending of mind with soul a thing that is one and indivisible, so that such men's thought is never obstructed by the darkness of error" (Asclepius III, sec. 18b).

The Logos itself emanates from Light. In the [Ερμού Τριμεγίστου] Ποιμάνδης¹, the author relates how in a dream of the night "all was changed into light, a mild and joyous light; and I marvelled when I saw it." In contrast with the light was a darkness which changed "into a watery substance". The darkness made "an indescribable sound of lamentation". But from the light there came forth a holy Word (λόγος), which took its stand upon the watery substance; and methought this Word was the voice of the Light"². Poimandres explains that the Light "is I, even Mind, the first God, who was before the watery substance which appeared out of the darkness; and the Word which came forth from the Light is son of God."³ Much is

1. Hermetica: Lib. I, sec. 4.

2. ib., sec. 5a.

3. ib., sec. 6.

made of demons in Hermeticism: "The daemons then govern all our earthly life"^{1.} But no matter how strong demons are, light is stronger and more powerful: "If then the rational part of a man's soul is illumined by a ray of light from God, for that man the working of the daemons is brought to naught; for no daemon and no god has power against a single ray of the light of God."^{2.}

Life and Light are closely associated. In driving out the powers of darkness, "Life and Light united are a unit": ζωὴ δὲ καὶ φῶς ἑνωμένα εἰσὶν ἑνός^{3.} The Maker of the world is spoken of as ὁ ζῶν ζωὴ καὶ φῶς.^{4.} In the hymn of Rebirth^{5.} there are frequent references to Light and Life:

γνώσις ἁγία, φῶτισθεις ἀπὸ σοῦ,
διὰ σοῦ τὸ νοητὸν φῶς ὑμῶν(ν)
ζωὴ καὶ φῶς, ἀφ' ὑμῶν εἰς ὑμᾶς χωρεῖ ἡ εὐλογία^{6.}
(τὸν νοῦν) τὸ(ν) ἐν ἡμῖν [[σῶζε ζωή]] φῶτιζε φῶς.^{7.}
(τὴν ψυχὴν) «σῶζε ζωή»

The seven elemental men were "changed from Life and Light into soul and mind, soul from Life, and mind from Light"^{8.} When the author inquires how it is that man is able to enter into the Godd, Poimandres answers, "It is because the Father of all consists of Light and Life, and from him Man has sprung....If then, being made of Life and Light, you learn to know that you are made of them, you will go back into Life and Light!"^{9.}

1. Hermetica: Lib. XVI, sec. 16.

2. ib.

3. Lib. XIII, sec. 12.

4. Lib. I, sec. 12; cf. 21.

5. Lib. XIII.

6. sec. 18.

7. sec. 19.

8. Lib. I, sec. 27.

9. Lib. I, sec. 22.

And near the end of the discourse he says, "Wherefore I be-
lieve and bear witness that I enter into Life and Light"¹.

So much for the ideas of Logos and Light as they occur in the Fourth Gospel and in the religious vocabulary of the world in which it was written. One does not wish to imply that the Evangelist's outlook is colored by that of his contemporaries, or that when he used Logos and Light he meant only what they meant. The point is--and it is unescapable--that the Fourth Evangelist is interpreting Jesus of Nazareth in the language of Ephesus. We turn now to another of the leading ideas of the Gospel.

III.

'Life' (ζωή) is one of the very common words of the Fourth Gospel; in fact, the book is almost written in terms of it. The word is not unknown to the Synoptics, where it occurs in Matthew seven times, Mark four times, Luke four² times. But in the Fourth Gospel it occurs thirty-six times. 'Life eternal' (ζωὴ αἰώνιος) occurs in Mark twice, in Matthew three times, in Luke three times, in the Fourth Gospel seven-³teen times. 'Cause to live' or 'quicken' (ζωοποιέω) occurs⁴ not at all in the first three Gospels, three times in the Fourth

1. Hermetica: Lib. I, sec. 32.

2. Abbott: Johannine Vocabulary, 209; cf. Drummond, p.23.

3. Abbott: op. cit., p. 209.

4. ib., p. 209.

1.

We noted a certain mystical confusion of tense as regards eternal life. As a matter of fact, in the Fourth Gospel the term 'life' has all but entirely replaced the Synoptic 'kingdom of God,' mention of which is made in the Fourth Gospel only once. 'Inheriting eternal life' is the Johannine equivalent of the Synoptic 'entering into the kingdom of God'. The whole reason for writing his Gospel, the Fourth Evangelist says, is that there might be life: "these (ταῦτα) are written that ye may believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God; and that believing ye may have life in his name" (20:31). The very purpose for which Jesus came into the world, he says, was the bringing of life: "I came that they may have life, and have it more abundantly" (10:10). To this end was he sent by the Father: "For this is the will of my Father, that every one that beholdeth the Son, and believeth on him, should have eternal life" (6:40). The Evangelist is consistently concerned to show the abundance of life that was in Jesus. After the feeding of the five thousand there was bread to spare, and after the marriage feast in Cana there was wine to spare.

Not only does the Fourth Evangelist lay emphasis upon this direct teaching about life, but the very incidents of the Gospel are described in terms of it. "In him was life," he says (1:4), "and the life was the light of men." One gets physical life at birth; so must there be a new birth if one is to receive this new life: "Except one be born anew, he cannot see the kingdom of God" (3:3). The things that sustain life are bread and

water; Jesus is both: "I am the bread of life....This is the bread which cometh down out of heaven, that a man may eat thereof and not die. I am the living bread which came down out of heaven: if any man eat of this bread, he shall live forever: yea and the bread which I will give is my flesh, for the life of the world" (6:47-51). "Now on the last day, the great day of the feast, Jesus stood and cried, saying, If any man thirst, let him come unto me and drink. He that believeth on me, as the scripture hath said, from within him shall flow rivers of living water" (7:37f). "Every one that drinketh of this water shall thirst again; but whosoever drinketh of the water that I shall give him shall never thirst; but the water that I shall give him shall become in him a well of water springing up unto eternal life" (4:13f). "For the bread of God is that which cometh down out of heaven, and giveth life unto the world....I am the bread of life: he that cometh to me shall not hunger, and he that believeth on me shall never thirst" (6:33,35). Jesus says that his "meat is to do the will of him that sent me" (4:34). Bread can be got only at the harvest: "Lift up your eyes and look on the fields, that they are white already unto harvest. He that reapeth receiveth wages, and gathereth fruit unto eternal life; that he that soweth and he that reapeth may rejoice together" (4:35f). The eating of bread has always been regarded as a sacred act, a pledge of friendship. Jesus feeds the five thousand (6:1-13), attends a supper in Bethany (12:2), and on the night before

his crucifixion partakes of a common meal with his disciples (13:2).

After birth and food, the next thing in one's life is work. The Fourth Evangelist would have people know that Jesus forever sanctified that: "My Father worketh even until now, and I work" (5:17). It is the lot of most to marry; the first miracle is wrought at a wedding feast (2:1-11). And so it goes. True to his announced purpose of bringing abundant life (10:10), Jesus is throughout the Fourth Gospel the Lord of Life. When the nobleman's son is ill, Jesus speaks a word and the child lives (4:49-53). When he sees a "man blind from his birth," he gives him the light of life (9:1-7). When the lame man at the pool of Bethesda had "no man, when the water is troubled, to put me into the pool," Jesus bids him, "Arise, take up thy bed and walk" (5:2-9). Besides eating and drinking and working and ~~marrying~~ and being ill and lame and blind, many other events in the life of man were transformed by Jesus. No one who heard the Fourth Evangelist preach and knew his Christ, could ever witness a storm on the sea (6:16-21), see a blind man (9:1ff); watch a shepherd with his sheep (10:2,5), attend a religious feast (7:10f), console with bereaved loved ones (11:19,35), make a supper (12:2), see a loving deed that is extravagant because love does not count the cost (12:1-8), watch a humble disciple wash another's feet (13:1ff), or see a vine "that beareth fruit" (15:2), without being reminded of him whom the Fourth

Evangelist proclaimed to be the Lord of Life.

Finally, to show supremely that Jesus brings a life that cannot be conquered even by death, the Fourth Evangelist relates the story of the raising of Lazarus (11:1-44). If this is the most difficult portion of the Gospel, it is also its finest illustration of its fundamental idea. According to one of the rabbis, "Grief reaches its height on the third day. For three days the spirit hovers about the tomb, if perchance it may return to the body. But when it sees the fashion of the countenance changed, it retires and abandons the body." Accordingly, Jesus waits until Lazarus is far gone: "So when Jesus came, he found that he had been in the tomb four days already" (11:17). "Martha....saith unto him, Lord, by this time the body decayeth; for he hath been dead four days" (11:39). But when the Lord of Life had prayed, "he cried with a loud voice, Lazarus, come forth. He that was dead came forth" (11:43,44).

Hebrew piety had loved to speak of Yahweh, in contrast with the idols of surrounding nations, as "the living God", and it was a saying of the rabbis that "he who has acquired the words of the Law has acquired eternal life."^{1.}

There were thus Jewish precedents for his emphasis on life. The word 'life' also had great prominence in the mystery religions.^{2.} We noted that one of the longings of the age was

1. ICC on John, vol. I, p. 253.

2. Supra, p. 94.

for immortality. Angus¹ has pointed out, concerning the mystery religions, that "Their chief charm was that they brought an evangel of life and immortality to confront the mystery of the grave. The religion of Greece might satisfy while life was joyous; it offered no rod and staff to men entering the valley of the Shadow. The religion of Rome, in which the domestic hearth and the continuity of the family bulked so large, could hold forth nothing better than the dreary Manes-cult. Philosophy brought to many great souls a blessed hope and in later phases employed the symbolism of the Mysteries to reenforce the faith in immortality. But for the multitude it was the Mysteries which illuminated the Hereafter."

Life was the desire of the devotees of every mystery. The author of Poimandres² says in a dream vision, "tell me how I shall enter into Life" (πῶς εἰς ζωὴν χωρήσω). Life is to be attained in Hermeticism through a series of ascents by which the soul is gradually purged until it attains³ to the Good. God himself is the source of life: "for who is as God is? Who else is the author of life, and the maker both of immortality and of the changing life of mortals?"⁴ The life-giving God moves in all things: "look at matter (ὕλη) filled to the full with life, and see this great god in move-

1. The Mystery Religions and Christianity, p. 63.

2. Hermetica: Lib. I, sec. 24.

3. cf. Lib. I, secs. 24, 25, 26a.

4. Lib. XI (ii), sec. 5.

ment, with all things that are contained in him"^{1.} It is God's very nature to give life: "For as a man cannot live without breathing, even so God cannot exist without making that which is good; and that, dear Hermes, is life. For it is, so to speak, God's very being to generate movement and life in all things"^{2.}

It is imperative, then, that one should know God: "For it is the height of evil not to know God."^{3.} In the prayer at the end of the Asclepius, the author says, "we have learnt to know thee, O thou true life of the life of man"^{4.} (o vitae [humanae] vera vita). Knowledge of God brings life. In Libellus X (Κλεις), Hermes says, "the vision of the Good is....more penetrating than visible light in its descent upon us;....it is full of all immortal life"^{5.}

IV.

The Fourth Gospel is largely written in terms of Logos, Light, Life. Logos was a familiar term of Greek philosophy, originated by Heraclitus and taken over by the Stoics as the name of that which man and god have in common. The Jews had a similar idea of an intermediary between God and man, and to it Philo applied the term Logos, which was also current in the mysteries. Light has always been thought to be fraught with religious significance, but it had especial currency in the Evangelist's age. Life, another common word, is a third great word of the Gospel; the Evangelist shows how Jesus transformed every phase of it. We close this chapter with some account

1. Lib. XII (ii), sec. 21.

3. Lib. XI (ii), sec. 21b.

5. Sec. 4b.

2. Lib. XI (ii), sec. 17c.

4. Asclepius, sec. 41b.

of two other ideas, somewhat less prominent in the Gospel, but current also in the world in which the Gospel was written.

Truth is another of the leading ideas of the Gospel. It is the Fourth Evangelist alone who records Pilate's famous question, "What is truth?" (18:38). Jesus promises to send the *παράκλητος* and "when he, the Spirit of truth, is come, he shall guide you into all the truth" (16:13). "Ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free" (8:32). *ἀληθής* occurs in Mark once, Matthew once, Luke once, in the Fourth Gospel fourteen times; *ἀληθινός* does not occur in Mark or Matthew, occurs once in Luke, nineteen times in the Fourth Gospel;^{1.} *ἀληθῶς* occurs twice in Mark, thrice in Matthew and Luke, seven times in the Fourth Gospel;^{2.} *ἀλήθεια* occurs thrice in Mark, once in Matthew, thrice in Luke, twenty-five times in the Fourth Gospel.^{3.} This, then, is the Gospel of 'truth'.

Truth is not without its significance for the mysteries. In a dream-vision when "My bodily sleep had come to be sober wakefulness of soul," the author of Poimandres^{4.} says, "becoming God-inspired, I attained to the abode of Truth" (*τῆς ἀληθείας ἦλθον*). Truth is to be the source of all good: "Out of ^{the} Truth will spring up in you the immortal brood of virtue" (*ἐκ τῆς ἀληθείας τὰ ἀθάνατα «τῆς ἀρετῆς» γεννήματα*).^{5.}

1. Abbott: Johannine Vocabulary, p. 233. 2. ib., p.234.
 3. ib., p. 235.
 4. Hermetica: Poimandres, Libellus I, paragraph 30.
 5. ib., Libellus XIII, paragraph 22a.

Work

Work (*ἐργάζομαι*) is another of the great ideas of the Gospel. Jesus is constantly working on the Sabbath (5:9, etc.). The reason, he says, is that "My Father worketh even until now, and I work" (5:17). The noun *ἔργον* occurs in Mark twice, Matthew six times, Luke twice, in the Fourth Gospel ^{1.} twenty-seven times. The verb *ἐργάζομαι* occurs in Mark one, in Matthew four times, in Luke once, in the Fourth Gospel ^{2.} seven times. "Even for God 'not rest but worthy labour is the ^{3.} soul of life,' for He must continue to sustain creation."

Philo had spoken of toil as "the first and greatest ^{4.} of blessings," and the idea of God's constantly working is a very common one in the mystery religions. The Hermetica has frequent references to it. God as the Father of all was conceived as working through a Demiurge, the Sun; "and the Kosmos ^{5.} is the instrument by means of which the Demiurgus works." It is through His incessant working that God makes Himself known to men: "And do you say 'God is invisible'? Speak not so. Who is more manifest than God? For this very purpose has he made all things, that through all things you may see him. This is God's goodness that he manifests himself through all things. Nothing is invisible, not even an incorporeal thing; mind is ^{6.} seen in its thinking, and God in his working." Elsewhere,

1. Abbott: Johannine Vocabulary, p. 238. 2. ib., p. 239.
 3. Macgregor, p. 173. 4. De Sac., 35.
 5. Poimandres, Libellus XVI, par. 18.
 6. ib., Libellus XI (ii), par. 22a.

"in making all things, God makes himself, and it is impossible that he should ever cease from making; for God himself can never cease to be."^{1.}

Indeed, it the very nature of God to work: "~~the~~ making of things is, so to speak, God's very being."^{2.} "And what is God's work, if not to make things? God is not idle; if he were, then all things would be idle; for all things are full of God. Nay, in the Kosmos also there is no idleness anywhere; idleness, whether of the Maker or of that which he makes, is a word devoid of meaning."^{3.} "God, if he ceases to do his work, is no longer God....If there is anything which God does not make, then God himself is incomplete;"^{4.} "as a man cannot live without breathing, even so God cannot exist without making that which is good; and that, dear Hermes, is life. For it is, so to speak, God's very being to generate movement and life in all things,,, and he is ever at his work....If what he makes were separated from him, all things would of necessity collapse and die; for there would be no life in them."^{5.}

1. Poimandres, Libellus XVI, 19. 2. ib., Lib. XIV, 7.
 3. ib., Lib. XI (ii), 7. 4. ib., Lib. XI(ii), 12b, 13a.
 5. ib., Lib. XI (ii), 17c, 14a.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE FOURTH EVANGELIST'S METHOD

Having noticed how the Fourth Evangelist couches his message in terms that could be understood by his hearers, let us now examine his method in handling the materials which concerned the life of Jesus of Nazareth; let us consider his use of Synoptic material and, following that, the extra-Synoptic material contained in his Gospel.

I.

Our account of the method of the Evangelist begins with a study of certain incidents which he obviously has in common with the Synoptists. His tendency is to magnify them. The stilling of the tempest is a case in point. In the Synoptics, when Jesus reached the storm-tossed boat, "the wind ceased" (Mk 6:51; cf Mt 14:32). But in the Fourth Gospel, "straightway the boat was at the land whither they were going" (6:21). After the feeding of the five thousand Mark says, "he himself sendeth the multitude away. And after he had taken leave of them he departed into the mountain to pray" (Mk 6:45b,46; cf. Mt 14:23). But in the Fourth Gospel the incident has taken on much more serious proportions: "Jesus therefore perceiving that they were about to come and take him by force, to make him king, withdrew again into the mountain himself alone" (6:15)

The anointing in Bethany is another good illustration of the Fourth Evangelist's method of handling Synoptic material. The Synoptics simply say, "while he was in Bethany in the house of Simon the leper, as he sat at meat, there came a woman having an alabaster cruse of ointment" (Mk 14:3; cf. Mt 26:6,7). The Fourth Evangelist lays the setting very dramatically: "Jesus therefore six days before the passover came to Bethany, where Lazarus was, whom Jesus raised from the dead. So they made him a supper there" (12:1f). In the Synoptics the woman's identity is never disclosed. In the Fourth Gospel we have all the dramatis personae: "and Martha served; but Lazarus was one of them that sat at meat with him. Mary therefore took a pound of ointment" (12:3). In the Synoptics the woman merely anoints his head (Mk 14:3; Mt 26:7); in the Fourth Gospel she "anointed ~~the~~ feet of Jesus, and wiped his feet with her hair: and the house was filled with the odor of the ointment" (12:3).

The case of the man born blind is another good illustration. It is a very difficult miracle, the only case in the New Testament where Jesus is reported to have healed a congenital infirmity. The Synoptics relate the cure of four^{1.} or five blind men: two near the Sea of Galilee (Mt 9:27-30); one near Bethsaida (Mk 8:22-26); one or two near Jericho on **THE JOURNEY** up to Jerusalem at the time of the triumphal en-

1. Lu 7:21 says that "on many that were blind he bestowed sight".

try; Mark (10:46-52) and Luke (18:35-43) say one; Matthew (20:29-34) says two. In none of these instances is it recorded that the man was born blind; it is likely that loss of sight was due to one of the many eye diseases, common in Palestine even yet, caused by lack of cleanliness. It is likely that the Fourth Evangelist has in mind one or more of these Synoptic miracles, and has adapted the story to his purpose. As Lazarus forms the supreme illustration of Jesus' power to bring life, so this is his supreme illustration of the fact that Jesus is the light of the world.

It is noteworthy that in the Fourth Evangelist's account of the miracle he makes ^{Jesus} use methods of healing that the contemporary world considered effective: "he spat on the ground, and made clay of the spittle, and anointed his eyes with the clay" (9:6). It was a common belief in the ancient world that spittle was efficacious; "the nurse touched with spittle the lips and forehead of the week-old child"¹. Tacitus² narrates that the Emperor Vespasian cured a blind man in Alexandria by the use of saliva.

It is also not without significance that reports of such cures were fairly common in the Mediterranean world for which the Fourth Evangelist was writing. Alketas went to Epidaurus and "although blind, saw the dream-vision; the God seemed to come to him and open his eyes with his fingers, and he first saw the trees that were in the temple. At daybreak

2. Hist. iv. 81; cited by Muirhead: The Message of the Fourth Gospel, p. 128.
1. EGT in loc.

he went away cured."^{1.} At Rome, "A certain blind Gaius, obeying the divine instructions, received his sight in the presence of the people, who congratulated him because living virtues had operated."^{2.} There is, in the mystery literature, one very striking parallel to the Fourth Evangelist's account of the healing of the man born blind. It is "one of four records of cures inscribed on a marble tablet some time after 138 A.D., probably at the temple of Asclepius on the island in the Tiber at Rome."^{3.} It may be translated as follows: "To Valerius Aper, a blind soldier, the god revealed that he should go and take blood of a white cock, together with eyesalve and anoint his eyes three days. And he received his sight, and came and gave thanks publicly to the god."^{4.}

Although the circumstances are somewhat dissimilar,^{5.} it is generally believed that the nobleman of John 4:46-54 is to be identified with the centurion of Mt 8:5-13 (cf. Lu 7:2-10). If this identity be accepted, we have another interesting illustration of the freedom with which the Fourth Evangelist handles Synoptic material. In the Synoptics the man is a *ἐκατόνταρχος* ; in the Fourth Gospel he is a *βασιλικός*; in the Synoptics it is his *παῖς* who is sick; in the Fourth Gospel it is his *υἱός* . In the Synoptics the man's faith is

1. Angus: *Quests*, p. 432f cites Dittenberger: *Sylloge*, 1168, 120ff. 2. *ib.*; cites *Sylloge* III, 1173.

3. Deissmann: *Light from the Ancient East*, p. 132.

4. *ib.*

5. E.g., by Bernard: *ICC on John*, vol. I, p. 165f; Irenaeus treats them as one: *Adv. Haeres.* ii. 22. 3.

a chief factor in the working of the miracle (Mt 8:10; Lu 7:9); in the Fourth Gospel the man does nothing more than make his request; it is the power of Jesus alone which works the miracle. The Synoptics simply relate that it was learned later that the miracle had taken place in the very hour in which Jesus had spoken the word of healing. The Fourth Evangelist has a very dramatic account of how the man started home, and on the way met his servants who had come "saying that his son lived. So he inquired of them the hour when he began to amend. They said.....Yesterday at the seventh hour the fever left him. So the father knew that it was at that hour in which Jesus said unto him, Thy son liveth" (4:51-53). In the Synoptics there is no record that anything further happened; but in the Fourth Gospel we are told, "and himself believed, and his whole house" (4:53).

In the Synoptics Jesus says, "The Son of man is Lord of the Sabbath." The Fourth Evangelist demonstrates that Jesus works on the Sabbath and that he has a right to (5:17). In the Synoptics Jesus asks the disciples abruptly, "Who do men say that I am?" (Mk 8:27; cf. Mt 16:13f; Lu 9:18ff), and receives Peter's great confession. The Fourth Evangelist has given to the incident a much more dramatic setting and enhanced its pathos: "Upon this many of his disciples went back, and walked no more with him. Jesus said therefore unto the twelve, Would ye also go away?" (6:66f). Having considered the Fourth Evangelist's method as revealed in these incidents, we now take up a study of it as revealed in ~~His~~ ^{The} treatment of John/Baptist.

II.

The case of John the Baptist sheds perhaps more light on the question of Synoptic and Johannine divergence than any other phase of either body of Christian tradition. John the Baptist is a test case; we therefore propose to treat it at some length.

The Fourth Evangelist has not much use for the Baptist. He interrupts the sublime rhapsody of the Prologue to insert these jarring notes: "He was not the light, but came that he might bear witness of the light" (1:8), "This was he of whom I said, He that cometh after me is become before me: for he was before me" (1:15b). The Fourth Evangelist consistently puts into the mouth of John exceeding modesty: "He must increase, but I must decrease" (3:30); "in the midst of you standeth he... he that cometh after me, the latchet of whose shoes I am not worthy to unloose" (1:26f). This latter is a statement of his own unimportance, than which a greater could scarcely be imagined. It was said in the ^{1.} Talmud, "Every service which a servant will perform for his master, a disciple will do for his Rabbi, except loosing his sandal thong." The Fourth Gospel makes the Baptist see the dove descending at the Baptism (1:32f); this is not true of the Synoptics, which ^{emphasize the fact that it was Jesus who} ~~imply that Jesus only~~ saw the dove (Mk 1:10; Mt 3:16; Lu 3:22), ^{not mentioning that it was visible to anyone else.} The Baptist points to Jesus as "the lamb of God that taketh away the sin of the world!" (1:29), and when his disciples heard him speak thus "they followed Jesus" (1:37). If John ac-

1. EGT in loc.

tually did thus modestly decry his own cause and urge people to follow Jesus, we are entitled to ask, in all reverence, why John himself did not follow Jesus?

Jesus' own praise of John as recorded in the Fourth Gospel is very grudging when compared with that given in the Synoptics (compare John 5:33ff with Matthew 11:11). So violent is the opposition of the Fourth Evangelist to John that he will not even allow that he is Elijah. The priests and Levites, according to the Fourth Gospel, asked the Baptist, "Art thou Elijah? And he saith, I am not" (1:21). Yet in the Synoptics Jesus himself says that John is the expected Elijah: "I say unto you that Elijah is come already, and they knew him not....Then understood the disciples that he spake unto them of John the Baptist" (Mt 17:12f; cf. Mk 9:11-13; Mt 10:14). The Fourth Gospel makes no mention of the Baptist's message from prison; the reason apparently is that a John whose only function is to bear witness to the light can be permitted to have no doubts whatever as to whether Jesus were the Light.

The Synoptics give no hint of John's excessive modesty, and the Jesus of the Synoptics owes a great deal to the forerunner; the Baptizer of the first three gospels is a very different figure from that of the Fourth. Indeed, Mark, the earliest of our gospels, begins with the statement that "the beginning of the gospel of Jesus Christ" was the ministry of John who came and "baptized in the wilderness and preached the baptism of repentance unto remission of sins" (Mk 1:1,4). And Jesus paid to John a

tribute such as he could have paid none other: "Among them that are born of women there hath not arisen a greater than John" (Mt 11:11).

The Church has been rather inclined to follow the fourth Evangelist, and has consistently dismissed the Baptist as a forerunner--as if a forerunner were of no more importance than the man who stands in front of a department store and opens the door for those who wish to enter. But no religious movement happens de novo, and to the historian nothing happens except in the fulness of time. Jesus' work could scarcely have been done had not John prepared the way.

Jesus, indeed, seems to have begun his career as a^{1.} disciple of John. He came to him to be baptized (Mk 1:9). Matthew (writing, it should be remembered, later than Mark who makes no mention of any deference on John's part) makes John feel that he is unworthy to baptize Jesus: he "would have hindered him, saying, I have need to be baptized of thee, and comest thou to me?" (Mt 3:14). ^{Is it fanciful to suppose that in} ~~the~~ boyhood the two had known each other and had often talked of what great things they would do when they were old, of the oppression of their nation, and of how the kingdom would come? Now that they are entered into man's estate, each modestly prefers the other before himself. Upon his return from the period in the wilderness known to us as the Temptation, Jesus "when he

1. I am pleased to find this suggestion confirmed by Parsons (Studies in Early Christianity, pp. 166ff). The appearance of this and other articles about the Baptist, and of M. Goguel's book, are, it is to be hoped, evidence that the Baptist is again coming into his own.

heard that John was delivered up,....withdrew into Galilee" (Mt 4:12). Does this not suggest that Jesus' mission up to this time was so identified with John's that when John was delivered up, the younger cousin, knowing that ^{his hour was not yet come} ~~discretion to the better part of~~ ~~himself~~, withdrew into Galilee to escape a similar fate? It was not until after this that Jesus began to choose his disciples and enter upon a separate career (Mk 1:16ff).

Moreover, when Jesus does start to preach, his message is exactly the same as that of John: "Repent ye, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand" (Mt 4:17; cf. Mt 3:2). When he sends the twelve out, he tells them to say exactly what John had been saying: "As ye go, preach, saying, The kingdom of heaven is at hand" (Mt 10:70). Further, Jesus warns them that they may expect a fate similar to that of John: "Beware of men: for they will deliver you up to councils, and in their synagogues they will scourge you; yea and before governors and kings shall ye be brought (Mt 10:17f).

In the teachings of Jesus one finds evidence of dependence upon John. When Zacchaeus is converted, he does what John had commanded enquirers to do: gives to people who have less than himself and restores what he has taken unjustly (compare Lu 19:8 with Lu 3:10-14). Jesus regards this as sufficient: "This day," he says, "is salvation come to this house" (Lu 19:9). In words again reminding us of the Baptist's message, Jesus tells the rich young ruler that if he would be perfect he must go and sell all that he has and give to the poor (Mt 19:21). The Fourth

Evangelist records Jesus' discourse about the true seed of Abraham (12:37ff). But even this seems a distinct echo of John's sermon on that subject: "think not to say within yourselves, We have Abraham to our father: for I say unto you, that God is able of these stones to raise up children to Abraham" (Mt 3:9).

Jesus and John seem to have had the same conception of sin, namely, that sins of disposition were worse than sins of conduct, and that hypocrisy was worse than any overt act of sin. Jesus twice calls hypocrites "offspring of vipers" (Mt 12; 34; 23: 33). But the somewhat enigmatic expression (γεννήματα ἰχθύων) first fell from the lips of John (Mt 3:7; Lu 3:7). When Jesus' authority is challenged, he defends himself by referring to John (Mt 21:23ff; Lu 20:4ff). Jesus said, "Every tree that bringeth not forth good fruit is hewn down, and cast into the fire" (Mt 7: 19), but John had said, "even now the axe lieth at the root of the trees: every tree therefore that bringeth not forth good fruit is hewn down and cast into the fire" (Mt 3:10).

The allegory of the "true vine" in the Fourth Gospel is a development of this idea: "If a man abide not in me, he is cast forth as a branch, and is withered; and they gather them, and cast them into the fire, and they are burned" (Jn 15:6). The Baptist speaks of one who "will gather his wheat into the garner, but the chaff he will burn with fire unquenchable" (Mt 3:12); Jesus speaks about gathering the wheat into ^{the} barn (Mt 13:30), and burning the tares with fire (Mt 13:40). Jesus' parable about the man who owned a vineyard and whose servants were rejected when they were sent to gather the fruits (Mk 12:1ff; Lu 20:9ff)--is not

Jesus thinking of John and himself, servants sent to gather the harvest for the Owner of the vineyard, both rejected?

Jesus seems thoroughly to approve of the message of John: in describing the reception John had received in the world, Jesus refers to the Baptist's message as "the way of righteousness" (Mt 21:32), and people who rejected John, he says, were "like unto children sitting in the marketplaces, who call unto their fellows and say, We piped unto you, and ye did not dance; we wailed, and ye did not mourn" (Mt 11:16f).

Like his predecessors of the prophetic tradition, John preached the coming of one mightier than himself (Mk 1:7f). Jesus seems, for a while, to have done the same. In Luke's account of the charge to the disciples, Jesus warns them to "be not anxious" about the things of the world, and then exhorts them to be "like men looking for their lord....Be ye also ready; for in an hour that ye think not the Son of man cometh" (Lu 12:36,40). This has traditionally been interpreted as a reference to the second coming of Jesus. But may it not be that the consciousness that he himself was the Messiah had not yet dawned upon Jesus, and that Jesus, like John, was proclaiming that the kingdom of heaven was about to be ushered in by one mightier than himself?

John was a homeless wanderer in the desert; so, said Jesus, must all those be who came after him: "The foxes have holes, and the birds of the heaven have nests; but the Son of man hath not where to lay his head" (Mt 8:20). Indeed, Jesus' prediction of his own death, what was it but a realization that he who preached as fearlessly and uncompromisingly as John would meet

the fate of John? Speaking to the disciples about John, Jesus said, "they knew him not, but did unto him whatsoever they would. Even so shall the Son of man ~~also~~ suffer of them" (Mt 17:12).

So much alike~~ly~~ were the careers of Jesus and John that some of his contemporaries thought Jesus must be a reincarnation of the Baptist. The disciples "went out, and preached that men should repent. And they cast out many demons, and anointed with oil many that were sick, and healed them. And king Herod heard thereof....and he said, John the Baptizer is risen from the dead, and therefore do these powers work in him" (Mk 6:12-14; cf 6:16; Mt 14:11). And if it be argued that Herod was an outsider who could not be expected to know Jesus well, we have still other witnesses: "Jesus....asked his disciples...Who do men say that ~~I~~am? And they told him, saying, John the Baptist; and others Elijah; but others, One of the prophets" (Mk 8:27f; cf. Mt 16:14; Lu 9:19). The people, according to the Fourth Gospel, (6:15), wanted to take Jesus and make him king, but the Baptist had also great popularity. Matthew tells us (14:5) that the reason Herod hesitated to kill John was that "he feared the multitude, because they counted him as a prophet." This is confirmed by Josephus¹ who tells us that the reason Antipas put him in prison was that he "feared lest the great influence John had over the people might put it~~into~~ his power and inclination to raise rebellion, for they² seemed to do anything he should advise." Abbott raises the question whether "John the Baptist did not intend something like

1. Antiquities, Book XVIII, ch. V, paragraph 2.

2. Johannine Vocabulary, p. 179, note vii.

a compulsory socialism, and whether Jesus of Nazareth did not intend to convert this into what should ultimately become a voluntary socialism."

I do not wish to imply that there was no difference in the message of Jesus and John, and far less do I wish to make John out the founder of the Christian religion. In meekness and gentleness and power to move the hearts of men Jesus was far superior to his fiery cousin. I am merely trying to show that the position assigned to John in the Fourth Gospel cannot be substantiated historically.

Is there to be found any definite reason why the Fourth Evangelist should thus darken the portrait of the Baptist? There is in the history of the church a reason, and a very good reason, namely, that in certain quarters there was danger that John would supersede Jesus.

The existence of a John-the-Baptist sect is evident even from the pages of our New Testament. The gospels make frequent reference to the disciples of John (Mt 9:14; Mk 2:18; Lu 5:33, 7:18,19; Mt 11:2, etc.); John seems to have given rules and regulations to them: his disciples fasted (Mt 9:14; Lu 5:33); he taught them to pray (Lu 11:1; 5:33). At John's death, "when his disciples heard thereof, they came and took up his corpse and laid it in a tomb" (Mk 6:29). That the sect did not die with the founder is evidenced in the Book of Acts. Apollos, an Alexandrian, came to Ephesus; "he was mighty in the scriptures" (Acts 18:24) and "spake and taught accurately the things concerning Jesus" (Acts 18:25). Yet he knew "only the baptism of John" (ib.).

When Paul came to Ephesus he "found certain disciples: and he said unto them, Did ye receive the Holy Spirit when ye believed? And they said unto him, Nay, we did not so much as hear whether the Holy Spirit was given. And he said, Into what then were ye baptized? And they said, Into John's baptism" (Acts 19:1-3). The Baptist's abiding importance is further confirmed by the frequent references to him throughout the New Testament. "Save Jesus, Peter, and Paul, he is by far the most frequently named person in the New Testament"^{1.} and his wide-spread post mortem popularity is evinced "by the fact that, when....Antipas was defeated by Aretas of Arabia, the Jews interpreted the disaster as God's vengeance for the murder of the Baptist".^{2.} There are evidences that the John-the-Baptist sect survived as late as the sixth century.^{3.} Traces of him are found in the literature of the Mandaeans, in the lower regions of Mesopotamia; they have a "Book of John", and references to him in their liturgy,^{4.} while some believe that "we have in the first chapter of Luke a Baptist birth story which originally formed part of a Messianic document or Baptist gospel".^{5.}

It is easy to see why the Baptist should have had such a following. Clad only in camel's hair and living upon locusts and wild honey, his figure was one to fire the imagination. There had not been a prophet like him for generations and a solitary wild man preaching the eminence of Messiah's coming was bound to attract a

1. Bowen's essay in "Studies in Early Christianity", p. 131, q.v. for statistics.

2. David Smith: The Days of His Flesh, p. 222, note.

3. Cf. Carpenter, pp. 287ff; Scott, p. 80f.

4. Carpenter, p. 320.

5. Parsons in "Studies in Early Christianity", p. 165, note.

following in a land writhing under foreign domination.

Indeed, it is easy to see how some could have taken him for the Messiah. Luke (3:15) tells us that some did reason in their hearts whether he were the Christ. Did not John in prison truly die for Israel? If Jesus had never come, would not John have fulfilled Isaiah's forecast of a suffering servant? If Jesus was "a man of sorrows and acquainted with grief," was not also John? Might not penitent Israel have written above the prison bars in the lonely cell of Machaerus, "he was wounded for our transgressions, he was bruised for our iniquities"¹? Like all forerunners, the credit for his work went to another--and he would have been the last to wish it otherwise. Like all great souls, his life was solitary. Bitterest of all, he died in prison, not knowing whether the things he stood for had been but a vain delusion.

Our conclusion is that the Fourth Evangelist does violence to the facts in his suppression of the Baptist. We can understand, however, the reason for that suppression: it is against the John-the-Baptist sect that he aims his polemic.² Like da Vinci striking the cup from his "Last Supper", the Fourth Evangelist will have nothing in his picture that attracts more attention than his Lord, and he overreaches himself in his anxiety to demonstrate that John was not the Christ;

1. For the foregoing sentences I am indebted to a classroom lecture by Professor W.A. Curtis, University of Edinburgh.

2. Baldensperger thought an anti-Baptist polemic accounted for all the phenomena of the Gospel; see Stanton, p. 10f. Drummond, on the other hand, says (p. 381) that the supposition that the treatment of the Baptist was due to the presence of his disciples in Ephesus "is interesting, but hardly amounts to an argument."

"his function as the preacher of the approaching kingdom is ignored; the purpose of his baptism remains unexplained; the impassioned summons to repentance is suppressed."^{1.}

This accounts also for another of the Fourth Evangelist's omissions: he makes no mention of the baptism of Jesus. He cannot even grant John the honor of recording how he had administered this sacred rite to his Lord. Throughout his book he is concerned to make it plain that the followers of John should all become followers of Jesus, that the Baptist sect had never had any real *raison d'être*, that it was only Jesus after all that mattered, and that there was nothing further from John's mind than founding a sect in opposition to Jesus.

III.

Let us now consider the method of the Fourth Evangelist as it comes out in the composition of the long discourses which characterize his Gospel. Let us begin with the 'parable' of the sheep and the shepherd (10:1-30). The word 'sheep' (*προβατων*) occurs seventeen or nineteen times in the Fourth Gospel,^{2.} and forms a principal source of Johannine imagery. The word had, however, occurred with some frequency in the Synoptics, where it forms a principal source of Jesus' imagery. It appears twice in Mark, twice in Luke, eleven times in Matthew.^{3.}

Jesus' birth is announced to shepherds (Lu 2:8f), and the life of the shepherd figures prominently in Jesus' teaching. The good shepherd will not rest if even one of his sheep is

1. Carpenter: The Johannine Writings, p. 236.
 2. Abbott: Johannine Vocabulary, p. 227.
 3. ib.

lost (Lu 15:3ff). Jesus was moved with compassion towards the multitude "because they were as sheep not having a shepherd" (Mk 6:34; cf. Mt 9:36). "What man shall there be among you," asks Jesus, "that shall have one sheep, and if it fall into a pit on the sabbath day, will he not lay hold on it, and lift it out?" (Mt 12:11; cf. 12:12). On the last night, Jesus predicts that they will all be offended because of him: "for it is written, I will smite the shepherd, and the sheep shall be scattered" (Mk 14:27). When the disciples are sent out, they are charged to go "to the lost sheep of the house of Israel" (Mt 10:6), and Jesus himself "was not sent but unto the lost sheep of the house of Israel" (Mt 15:24). At the last judgment, the judge will separate among the nations "as a shepherd divideth his sheep from the goats" (Mt 25:32; cf. 25:33).

It is not a far cry from "What man of you, having a hundred sheep, and having lost one of them, doth not leave the ninety and nine in the wilderness, and go after that which is lost, until he find it?" (Lu 15:4) to "I am the good shepherd: the good shepherd layeth down his life for the sheep" (Jn 10:11). Yet it is the difference between a Jesus who openly boasts of his uniqueness and a Jesus who merely proclaims God's love, leaving the disciples to draw their own conclusions about himself as the incarnation of that love. In the light of Jesus' death and subsequent events, it is not hard to see how the Evangelist made the transition. Jesus did lay down his life for the sheep.

The transition having been made, the other parts of

the allegory follow naturally: there is no other who has a right to shepherd the flock--all others are thieves and robbers (10:1), and Jesus is the door of the sheep (10:7,9). Not only is he the shepherd and the only true shepherd, but he is also ἡ θύρα τῶν προβάτων --that is, he is "the legitimate door of access to the spiritual αὐλή¹, the Fold of the House of Israel". In the Synoptics Jesus had warned that it was a narrow door (στενῆς θύρας) by which people would have to get into the kingdom of heaven (Lu 13:24; cf. Mt 7:13). It was inevitable that the Fourth Evangelist should make Jesus say, "I am the door".

The imagery of the Good Shepherd was as natural in Palestine as it has been popular ever since. The traveler still sees the Shepherd carrying the lambs in his arm, or scrambling over a cliff to rescue one that is lost. The 23rd Psalm had utilized the same imagery: "The Lord is my shepherd..." And Philo had said that God's "watchful oversight is...the first² and only reason why the parts of the soul are never left without attendance but find a blameless and unfailing good Shepherd."

Another Johannine allegory is the allegory of the Vine and the Branches (15:1-5). Though the vine does not figure in Synoptic imagery, the tree and its branches occur

1. ICC in loco; vol. II, p. 352.

2. De Agric. 49f, quoted by Kennedy: Philo's Contribution to Religion, p. 154.

rather frequently: "every good tree bringeth forth good fruit; but a corrupt tree bringeth forth evil fruit" (Mt 7:18). The barren fig tree is to be given one more chance to produce fruit (Lu 13:6ff). When men see the new shoots coming out on "the fig tree and all the trees," they know that summer is near (Lu 21:29ff). The Synoptics also record the parable of the laborers in the vineyard (Mt 20:1ff), and of the wicked husbandmen (Mt 21:33ff; Mk 12:1ff).

It is easy to see how "the best example of allegory^{1.} in the New Testament" could have been elaborated from these suggestions. Moreover, the vine was well known among the Jews. It was the national emblem of Israel, and on the coins^{2.} of the Maccabees Israel is represented by a vine. The vine occurs frequently in the Old Testament as a type of Israel. There, however, it usually refers to degenerate Israel (cf. Ezek. 15:2; 19:10; Isa. 5:1; Jer. 2:21; Hos. 10:1; Ps. 80:8-13).^{3.} "Always in the Old Testament," says Bernard, "when Israel is compared to a vine, the comparison introduces a lament over her degeneracy, or a prophecy of her speedy destructionAnd it has been thought that when Jesus said 'I am the True Vine', the comparison in view was that between the degenerate vine of Israel and the Ideal Vine represented by Himself."

Further, the presentation of the Christian message

1. Robinson, p. 225.

2. v. ICC in loco.

3. ICC on John, vol. II, p. 478.

in this form would have a special appeal to followers of the mystery religions. Theirs was really nature worship. The symbolism of the fruitful vine would be readily understood by a follower of these nature cults. In this connection we should note also that it is only the Fourth Evangelist who puts into the mouth of Jesus, "Except a grain of wheat fall into the earth and die, it abideth by itself alone; but if it die, it beareth much fruit" (12:24). "The mysterious decay and rebirth¹ of vegetation was at the root of the Demeter mysteries," and afforded the devotee some solution of the problems of life and death.

The transition from the short, pointed statements of the Synoptics to the long discourses of the Fourth Gospel, and from the Synoptic interest in the Kingdom to the Johannine interest in the King, is nowhere better seen than in their respective statements about 'light'. In the Synoptics Jesus nowhere claims to be the light of the world. "Ye are the light of the world," he says (Mt 5:14). Over and over again in the Fourth Gospel he says, "I am the light of the world". The few references to light in the Synoptics have nothing to do with light in the mystical sense; the only Synoptic allusions to light are to a candle (Mt 5:14, 15, 16; cf. 6:22, Lu 8:16; Lu 1:79; 2:32; 12:35). Yet even in the Synoptics themselves the

1. Strachan: The Fourth Gospel, p. 160.

Transition to the mystical sense of the Fourth Gospel has begun. Matthew has it, "A city that is set on a hill cannot be hid. Neither do men light a lamp, and put it under the bushel, but on the stand; and it shineth unto all that are in the house. Even so let your light shine before men, that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father which is in heaven" (Mt 5:14b-16). In Luke this has become, "No man, when he hath lighted a lamp, putteth it in a cellar, neither under the bushel, but on the stand, that they which enter in may see the light. The lamp of thy body is thine eye: when thine eye is single, thy whole body also is full of light; but when it is evil, thy body also is full of darkness. Look therefore whether the light that is in thee be not darkness. If therefore thy whole body be full of light, having no part dark, it shall be wholly full of light, as when the lamp with its bright shining doth give the light" (Lu 11:33-36).

We have discussed the problem of whether Jesus spoke in parables, as he is reported to have done in the Synoptics,¹ or whether he used allegory, as the Fourth Gospel represents. We have noted, too, that the world in which the Fourth Gospel was written was a world which was trying, by means of allegory,² to save its gods from oblivion. It seems likely that the Fourth Evangelist is responsible for these allegories, that he has adapted to Christian purposes a literary and religious method which was in vogue in his day. We are not to imagine that the

1. Supra, pages 4-10.

2. Supra, pages 71-82.

Jesus who lived and moved among men actually spoke to them in studied allegories proclaiming his own greatness. Instead, the Fourth Evangelist has seized upon certain memorable sayings of Jesus and around them built his allegories. His long and involved discourses were fashioned, in the way that we have indicated, from Synoptic hints. The short, pithy ^{sayings} recorded by the Synoptists were unforgettable utterances that burned their way deep into the hearts of men. Lacking a Dictaphone, no one could possibly have remembered the involved speeches of the Fourth Gospel. Indeed, our author seems himself concerned to make it plain that he is not giving us the *ipsisima verba* of Jesus.

1.
Abbott lists 60 instances where the Evangelist repeats himself with variations or represents his characters as quoting themselves inaccurately. Of these, twelve are in the words of our Lord himself. Thus, in 6:26-29 Jesus says, εἶδετε σημεῖα.... τοῦτό ἐστιν τὸ ἔργον τοῦ θεοῦ ἵνα πιστεύητε; in 6:36, ἀλλ' εἶπον ὑμῖν ὅτι καὶ ἐώρακά τέ [με] καὶ οὐ πιστεύετε. Compare L:48 with 1:50; 6:33, 41, 50, 51, 58; 6:38 with 6:42; 6:44 with 6:65; 8:21 with 8:24; 8:51 with 8:52; 13:10 with 13:11; 14:4-18 with 14:28; 16:14 with 16:15; 16:16 with 16:19; 17:12 with 18:9. Only once does Jesus repeat himself with exact accuracy (13:33 quotes 8:21). In the words of Abbott,² "Our conclusion must therefore be that he wished to compel his readers to perceive that they have not before them Christ's exact

1. Johannine Grammar, pp. 403-407.

2. op. cit., p. 402.

words, and that they must think of their spirit rather than of the letter."

The Fourth Evangelist has done what a modern preacher does when he takes a pregnant saying of Jesus and expands it into a homiletic discourse--only the Fourth Evangelist has done it infinitely better: he has done it so well, in fact, that even his expansions are so filled with meaning that almost every sentence of them can serve as the basis for a present-day sermon. To this method of the Evangelist certain analogies at once suggest themselves; perhaps they will help us better to understand the naturalness of the process.

It was the custom of the Jewish rabbis, for example, to elaborate the words of the Law and the Prophets. This seems to account for one of the peculiarities of the Fourth Gospel which we noted in chapter II, the peculiar manner of iteration and reiteration.¹ It was a Jewish canon that the full statement of a fact includes the negative as well as the positive aspect of it.² Philo's usage is also very much to the point. He held that the Pentateuch was inspired in every detail, yet he feels free to expand its ideas in every direction; it seemed to him in no sense arbitrary to draw out from some text or incident what seemed to him a divine message.³

One thinks also of the poets. Though we may not believe Andrea del Sarto ever uttered the words Browning puts into his mouth, still we cannot doubt that Browning has given

1. Supra, p. 46.

2. Abbott: *Johannine Grammar*, p. 441 refers to Grätz: *History of the Jews*, ENG. TR., iv. 16.

3. Cf. Kennedy: *Philo's Contribution*, p. 50f.

us a faithful representation of him. Strachan^{1.} suggests a similarity between the working of Wordsworth's mind and the working of the mind of our author: "Wordsworth was in the habit of noting down....impressions and incidents which some years afterwards were worked up into poems. When they appeared thus, they were transformed. The poem contained more and also less than the incident, but not more than the actual happening suggested; where details were dropped, they disappeared either because they would only have done harm to the general artistic effect, or they had slipped from memory."

There is also the analogy of ancient historians in general. It was the regular thing for them to construct speeches for their characters. Thucydides, Livy, Josephus, Herodotus--all did it. Thucydides' description of his own method is typical: "I have put into the mouth of each speaker the sentiments proper to the occasion, expressed as I thought he would be likely to express them, while at the same time I endeavored, as nearly as I could, to give the general purport of what was said."^{2.} The author of the book of Acts seems to have followed the method of Thucydides; he constructs speeches for Peter, Paul, Gamaliel (5:35-39), Stephen (7:2-53), and the town clerk of Ephesus (19:35-40). Paul, in a limited measure, and the author of the Apocalypse, had done the same for Jesus; see, for example, II Cor., 12:8f. It was quite natural for the

1. The Fourth Evangelist, p. 61.

2. 1:22, Jowett's translation.

Fourth Evangelist to use this method of letting the *dramatis personae*--and in particular his hero--speak for themselves; this was the most effective way the ancient historian had of describing his characters. One sentence put into a man's mouth would convey more than a paragraph analyzing his character.

But thoroughly to understand the method of the Fourth Evangelist and the construction of Johannine discourses from Synoptic texts, we must go back to the Old Testament prophets and consider their method. When they arrived at a "Thus saith the Lord", it was as necessity laid upon them. Each prophet had his own distinctive message: Amos justice, Hosea love, Isaiah holiness, etc. Whatever special message the Eternal had granted him, the prophet sought to exhibit in so many ways as to make it known to all the people and unforgettable. One principle was enough to make a prophet--although, of course, he applied that principle to every phase of Israel's existence. ⁿ The fact that Jesus was life to him was what made the Fourth Evangelist. ^h "His "Jesus said" is the exact equivalent of their "thus saith the Lord"."

"What the prophets of the Old Testament did for Yahweh, the Fourth Evangelist did for Jesus. ^{"x"} ["] In the case of the prophets, it never occurs to one to ask whether Yahweh actually did, in audible terms, utter those assertions about himself. ["] We understand that it was the prophet's own rendering of the message with which Yahweh had burdened his heart. Similarly, it is beside the point to ask whether the Jesus of

history ever did utter these lengthy claims to his own greatness. The discourses are the Fourth Evangelist's rendering of the tremendous importance of Jesus as Jesus had revealed it in the days of his flesh. "The Fourth Evangelist is the Christian counterpart of the Hebrew prophet."^{art}

Finally, we must note that even the Christological egotism of the Fourth Gospel has its roots in the Synoptic tradition. While we cannot believe that Jesus was constantly proclaiming his own greatness, as the Fourth Gospel represents, there are isolated verses in the three Gospels which the Fourth does not exceed. Mt 11:27, for example: "All things have been delivered unto me of my Father: and no one knoweth the Son, save the Father; neither doth any know the Father, save the Son, and he to whomsoever the Son willeth to reveal him" (cf. Lu 10:22). Though we cannot imagine that Jesus was constantly expounding his own uniqueness, we cannot escape the fact of his own self-consciousness. He did feel himself to be in a unique way the Son of God, and the Fourth Evangelist has but brought into relief this element of his character.

By this time we are not particularly surprised to find that the form which the Fourth Evangelist chose for the presentation of this side of Jesus' character, was occasioned by something well-known to his contemporaries. In the Fourth Gospel the self-consciousness of Jesus finds its most characteristic utterance in the formula "I am": "I am the bread of life" (6:35): "I am the light of the world" (8:12; 9:5; cf. 12;

46); "I am the door" (10:9; cf. 10:7); "I am the good shepherd" (10:11); "I am the resurrection and the life" (11:25); "I am the way, the truth, and the life" (14:6); "I am the true vine" (15:1). Not once does such a formula, or anything comparable to it, occur in the Synoptics. $\epsilon\gamma\omega\ \epsilon\iota\mu\iota$ was, however, a well known formula of the mystery religions. Diodorus of Sicily gives us an inscription which, he says, other writers saw on the tomb of Isis at Nysa in Arabia. It runs thus: "I am Isis, the queen of every land, taught by Hermes, and whatsoever things I have ordained, no one is able to loose them. I am the eldest daughter of Chronos, the youngest god. I am wife and sister of King Osiris. I am the first that devised fruit for men. I am mother of Horus the King. I am she that riseth in the dog-star...."^{1.} "That the Nysa inscription was not fiction but a permanent constituent in liturgical texts of the Isis cult," says Deissmann,^{2.} "is proved by the later record from Ios," which is too long to reproduce here, but may be seen in "Light from the Ancient East", page 136. "I in thee and thee in me" was a thought-form congenial to the world in which the Fourth Gospel was written. It was the cry of one of the Gnostic liturgies.^{3.} In a prayer to Hermes^{4.} occur the words $\sigma\upsilon\ \gamma\alpha\rho\ \epsilon\gamma\omega\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \epsilon\gamma\omega\ \sigma\upsilon$. With these we may also compare that other word in the Fourth Gospel, "Before Abraham was, I am." To this there is a parallel recorded in Plutarch, where Isis appears as "I am all, that which has^{5.} been, is, and shall be."

1. Light from the Ancient East, p. 135.

2. ib.

3. See Gilbert Murray: Five Stages of Greek Religion, p. 131

4. See Kennedy: St. Paul and the Mystery Religions, p. 55.

5. Cited by Angus: The Mystery Religions etc., p. 71.

CHAPTER SIX

THE FOURTH EVANGELIST'S METHOD (CONTINUED)

I.

Let us now turn to an examination of the method of the Fourth Evangelist as it comes out in his chronology. We noted in the beginning that the Fourth Evangelist differs from the Synoptists in the order of events of Jesus' life. We may note several crucial points: (a) the length of the ministry; (b) the date of the cleansing of the temple; (c) the date of the teaching about the sacrament; (d) the date of the crucifixion. Before considering these separately, it will be well to note at the outset that certain anachronisms in the Fourth Gospel make us suspicious of its chronology; it bears upon it certain marks of improbability. It represents Nicodemus, for example, as having been drawn to Jesus by certain *σημεία* at Jerusalem. Yet the discourse with Nicodemus is placed at the very beginning of the ministry, when Jesus had not yet been in Jerusalem. 11:2 tells us that the sister of Lazarus was "that Mary who anointed the Lord with ointment," but the account of the anointing in Bethany does not occur until 12:1-11. In the beginning of chapter 7, Jesus is urged by his brothers to go up to Jerusalem to make himself known as the Messiah. But already in chapters 2 (13-22) and 5 (1-47) there have been reported in Galilee accounts of his public appearances in Jerusalem¹.

². Abbott also finds an anachronism in the phrase

1. cf. M. Goguel: Introduction au Nouveau Testament, Tome II, p. 216.

2. Johannine Vocabulary, p. 208.

"your law" (τὸν νόμον ὑμῶν), which occurs three times in the Fourth Gospel, not at all in the Synoptics. "No other instance," he says, "is given by Westcott, and probably none could be given, of any prophet or teacher, Hebrew or Jewish, speaking of the Law of Moses to his countrymen as 'your law'. Theoretically it could be justified as meaning 'the Law that you yourselves recognize as given to you and as binding on you.' But," he continues, "if our Lord used the phrase thus, why is it not found in any of the Synoptics? The natural conclusion is that the Fourth Gospel anticipates the phraseology of a later date when Christians had separated themselves from the Law so that they spoke of it to Jews as 'yours'....a similar anachronism is to be found in Christ's words to the Disciples (Jn xv. 25) 'That the word might be fulfilled which is written in their law, They hated me without a cause.'"

(a) Let us now take up the major discrepancies in chronology, beginning with the length of the ministry. The Synoptists seem to allow for but one year; the Fourth Evangelist requires at least two and probably three years. The Synoptics mention but one Passover and have Jesus go up to Jerusalem only once; the Fourth Gospel mentions three Passovers, and has Jesus frequently in Jerusalem. Which of these is to be preferred?

Much of modern criticism is at one with tradition in preferring the Johannine outline. Streeter takes this position

1.
He argues, for example, that Mark is mainly "a collection of detached stories....Mark probably had information which enabled him roughly to fix the position of certain outstanding incidents like Peter's confession at Caesarea Philippi, but the term chronology is really a misnomer in connection with a work of this character.

"John is the first and the only one of the Evangelists who attempts a chronology. It may be² that his chronology is not a very good one--but it is the only one we have." Garvie also believes that on the question of length of ministry and number of visits to Jerusalem the Fourth Evangelist is to be preferred. "It is probable," he says, "that Jesus began His ministry in Judaea, that He attached that ministry to the work of His forerunner, that at first His disciples were not His constant companions, and that the company of Twelve was formed only for the Galilaeen ministry, that He began His ministry with the enthusiasm of the Spirit-filled, certain of His message, confident of His mission, that accordingly He challenged the priesthood, the scribes and the Pharisees, and the multitude as a reformer, if not avowedly as Messiah, and that He was compelled to turn from Judaea to Galilee to seek the faith He claimed."

1. The Four Gospels, p. 424.

2. The Beloved Disciple, p. 99.

1. 2.
 Garvie and Wendt give their reasons for preferring the Johannine chronology. The lament over Jerusalem (Mt 23: 37ff) seems to indicate that Jesus had been there frequently; it is mere rhetoric, they say, if this is Jesus' first visit. Jesus also had friends in and near Jerusalem: Joseph of Arimathea, Mary and Martha of Bethany; friends there arranged for the use of the ass for the entry and for the upper room for the supper. But this has, it seems to me, been adequately answered 3. by Drummond, who points out that the presence of friends in Jerusalem would not necessitate his having made a visit there during his public ministry; "to say nothing of the fact that people from Jerusalem visited Galilee for the express purpose of 4. hearing Jesus, he himself must have been, and probably was, 5. often in Jerusalem before his public ministry." The lament over Jerusalem need imply nothing more than that Jesus had "often wished to come to Jerusalem and save its people from the impending ruin, but he knew that there was no willingness to receive or follow him." 6.

We have also to consider the unanimous silence of the Synoptists--had there been ^{more than} one visit, it is hard to see how they could all have overlooked it. Further, there are definite indications in the Synoptics that one was the total number of

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1. The Beloved Disciple, p. 71.
 2. The Gospel According to St. John, pp. 9-12.
 3. Character and Authorship, pp. 42-47.
 4. Mt 4:25, 15:1.
 5. Drummond: op. cit., p. 45.
 6. ib.

visits. Such passages as Mt 16:21, Mt 20:18,18, Lu 18:31, Mk 10:32,33, Lu 9:51, seem to indicate that going up to Jerusalem was a new and dreaded experience and one that required unusual resolution. This is confirmed by Matthew's evident belief that Jesus was not known in Jerusalem save by repute, for, "when he was come into Jerusalem, all the city was stirred, saying, Who is this? And the multitudes said, This is the prophet, Jesus, from Nazareth of Galilee." (Mt 21:10,11).

This finds further confirmation in the early ecclesiastical tradition which, though not unanimous, favours the view that the ministry was only one year or a little over. The Clementine Homilies, Tertullian, Clement of Alexandria, Origen and others all accept the ^{length of the} ministry as one year or one year and ^{1.} a few months.

Øb) The next point that concerns us is the date of the cleansing of the temple. The Synoptics put it at the end of Jesus' ministry, the Fourth Gospel puts it at the very beginning. As we noted in another connection, ^{2.} the traditional expedient has been to posit two cleansings, one at the beginning and one at the end. This rather too easy way out of the difficulty has also been adopted by some modern critics, as, for

1. Clement shows how this was the fulfilment of the prophecy, "He sent me to preach the acceptable year of the Lord." For details of the Patristic evidence, see Drummond, p. 46. On the probability that the Synoptics are right in their account of only one visit to Jerusalem, see also Stanton; The Gospels as Historical Documents, vol. III, pp. 228ff.

example, by Garvie who believes^{1.} that "the historical framework (i.e., of the Fourth Gospel) can be accepted; that there was a ministry in Judaea at the Passover, two years before the Passover of the Passion (the intervening Passover being referred to in vi.4); that both the cleansing of the Temple and the conversation with Nicodemus belong to this period, and that if the repetition of the act of cleansing should appear incredible,^{2.} the Johannine position is more probable than the Synoptic."

As we noted in the previous section, the Synoptics have Jesus in Jerusalem but once--that is, at the time of the end. It is obvious that if the Synoptics inserted an account of the cleansing they had to put it at the end. Therefore it would be begging the question to say that the Synoptic date of the cleansing proves the accuracy of the Synoptic chronology. It is a question that has to be decided in the light of the respective methods of the Evangelists. We have seen reasons for preferring the Synoptic chronology in general. Is there any reason why the Fourth Evangelist might be expected to have inserted the cleansing at the beginning? There is. For him Jesus is, from the very beginning, the Messiah, and it would

1. op. cit., p. 60.

2. Garvie believes that there were two cleansings: the first, he says, "was not an open claim of Messiahship, but such a challenge to the corrupt priesthood as any zealous reformer might have offered. The second cleansing, taken in conjunction with the triumphal entry, was an assertion of His Messianic authority, not less but more significant because of the repetition"--p. 86.

be quite in accord with his method to make him dramatically claim Messiahship by having him upset the tables of the money-changers upon the very threshold of his career.

With this accords antecedent probability. It hardly seems credible that a Galilean carpenter, unknown outside his home town, would come up to the capital city and begin his public career by an act of violence in the most sacred precincts of the religion of his fathers. It was true that he came to upset the traditions of the fathers, but it is also true that he who knew what was in man was too clever a psychologist thus to antagonize people from the outset. The cleansing of the temple would have meant violent opposition from the very beginning, and he who when opposed in one city passed on to another would hardly have initiated his ministry in any such fashion. In view of what we have already observed of the Evangelist's method, we are forced to decide in favor of the Synoptic date for the cleansing of the temple.

(c) We have next to note a difference in the date of Jesus' teaching about the sacrament. According to the Synoptics, Jesus spends his last night on earth at supper with his disciples. He makes it a sacramental meal, and institutes the Communion which has been done ever since in remembrance of him. The Fourth Evangelist allows for the Last Supper, but makes no mention of the sacramental element. The only sacrament is a

sacrament of humility: rising from the supper, Jesus girds himself with a towel and washes the disciples' feet (13:1-11). The teaching about the broken body is transferred by the Fourth Evangelist to the story of the feeding of the five thousand (6:32-58), where it finds an appropriate setting amid the baskets of bread. In spite of the appropriateness of the setting, the teaching about eating Christ's body and drinking his blood would have been meaningless this early in the ministry. We have also to note that in 6:23 the bread is spoken of as τὸ ἄρτον. Nowhere else are the five loaves of the story spoken of in the singular. But the Eucharistic bread is, in the Apostolic church, always spoken of in the singular (cf. I Cor. 10:16,17; 11:27).

In place of the institution of the sacrament, the Fourth Evangelist has the account of the washing of the disciples' feet. It may be that the Evangelist has here rescued some acted parable that was performed by Jesus at some time during his ministry, or it may be that the Evangelist has himself composed this drama of humility from some Synoptic saying such as, "I am among you as one that serves" (Lu 22:27). That it is due to the Evangelist is suggested by the fact that the normal time for foot-washing would be before supper, not after. Had the incident occurred as he relates, it is difficult to see how the Synoptists could have omitted it--it is just here that their accounts are the fullest.

(d) Finally, the Fourth Evangelist differs from the Synoptics on the date of the Crucifixion. The Synoptists have

it occur on Friday, the Fourth Evangelist on Thursday. The controversy that has raged over this divergence has been particularly voluble and heated. Many articles have been written about it, and many sections of books devoted to it. Astronomy has been invoked to prove that the calendar would require acceptance of the Johannine date, and the same science has been used to demonstrate the validity of the Synoptic account; so far as I can make out, astronomical calculations are indeterminate, since, by a peculiar conjunction of the heavens that occurred around the disputed time, they allow for either. Bishop Westcott^{1.} was at great pains to show that the Fourth Evangelist used a different method of reckoning time, and so prove that both are right. Many modern scholars who are in general distrustful of the Johannine chronology, seem to prefer it on this particular point.^{2.}

All such controversy has seemed to me particularly unsympathetic, as valueless as it is voluble. The Fourth Evangelist tells us that Jesus was crucified, not on the Passover day, but on the day before (13:1). He also tells us that certain events of the Crucifixion "came to pass, that the scripture might be fulfilled, A bone of him shall not be broken" (19:36). This is an allusion to the Levitical regulations for slaying the Paschal lamb (see Numbers 9:12). Now the Paschal lamb was slain on Thursday, the day before the

1. The Gospel According to St. John, p. 282.

2. E.g., Brooke: Cambridge Biblical Essays, p. 309.

Passover. It is to me quite obvious that the Fourth Evangelist is not seeking to correct the Synoptics, but, in keeping with the feelings of his own great soul, has, in the larger light of history, simply shifted the date to ~~harmonize~~ with his poem.

II.

Having seen what the Fourth Evangelist does with the Synoptic material, we are now in a position to consider material in the Fourth Gospel which has no Synoptic parallel.

1.
As Wendt remarks,¹ there flows through the Fourth Gospel "a broad stream of tradition which does not rise in the synoptic Gospels." The main Johannine incidents which seem to have no Synoptic counterpart are: the marriage feast in Cana, the discourse with Nicodemus, the woman at the well, the raising of Lazarus. These are now to be considered, in the order named.

The Marriage Feast in Cana

According to the Fourth Gospel, the first public act of Jesus' ministry is the turning of the water into wine at the marriage feast in Cana (2:1-11). Besides the curious silence of the Synoptics about such an auspicious beginning to Jesus' career, the story has difficulties of its own. Aside from the physical improbability of the miracle--it has sometimes been explained as but a speeding up of processes that

1. The Gospel According to St. John, p. 235.

are continually at work in nature,¹ but this explanation is not a big help--there is a moral difficulty. It is hardly in keeping with what we know of Jesus' economy in the use of his supernatural powers, that he should use them to relieve the embarrassment of an improvident host. It makes, of course, a good homily on how Jesus is interested even in those things in life which have not primarily to do with religion. Renan rejoices that "One of his miracles was done by Jesus for the sole purpose of increasing the happiness of a wedding² party in a little contry town." But this is scarcely an adequate justification for so prodigal a miracle. A firkin (μετρητής) was nearly nine gallons, so that the six vessels would contain about 135 gallons. It was not Jesus' custom to use his unusual power in so prodigal a fashion.

2:11 refers to the incident as Jesus' "beginning of signs" (ἀρχὴ τῶν σημείων). Origen³ interprets ἀρχή as 'typical'--first, that is, not in point of time, but in significance. It is likely that this is the proper clue. Jesus'

1. This was Chrystostom's explanation: "But now to shew that it is He Who transmutes water in the vine plants, and Who converts the rain by its passage through the root into wine, He effected that in a moment at the wedding which in the plant is long in doing."--Homilies, vol. I, p. 185f. Hase offered a similar explanation of the feeding of the 5000: "Why should not the bread have been increased?...If nature every year in the period between seed-time and harvest performs a similar miracle, nature might also, by unknown laws, bring it about in a moment."--Schweitzer: Quest of the Historical Jesus, p. 60.

2. Schweitzer: Quest of the Historical Jesus, p. 184.

3. ed. Brooke, I, p. 196.

presence transforms and transfigures everything--this is the Fourth Evangelist's thesis, and at the very beginning of his narrative he places a typical incident.

It may be that the Fourth Evangelist has glorified some actual incident from the life of our Lord. But there are Synoptic hints out of which their story may have grown. The Synoptists relate that Jesus used wedding metaphors in connection with his teaching about the kingdom: "The kingdom of heaven is likened unto a certain king, who made a marriage feast for his son," etc. (Mt 22:2ff). What is probably more to the point is the passage in Mark 2:19-22 (parallel in Mt 9:14ff) where wine symbolism and wedding symbolism are united in one parable. Jesus is questioned about his disciples' failure to fast. "And Jesus said unto them, Can the sons of the bridechamber fast, while the bridegroom is with them?.... no man putteth new wine into old wineskins...." It is not a far cry from this passage to the Evangelist's vivid dramatization and localization of the teaching, at the wedding feast in Cana. Wendt¹ points to the analogy of the cursing of the fig tree, a story which seems to have arisen out of the transformation of a simile used by Jesus² into a record of actual happening. The use of a marriage metaphor is also in keeping with the Evangelist's plan of showing that there is no phase of existence which is not bettered when Jesus brings life to it.

1. The Gospel According to St. John, p. 241.

2. Such as Lu 13:6-9; 17:6; cf. Mk 11:23.

The supposed transformation of water into wine also played an important part in the ritual of the mystery religions. The Evangelist in all probability designed the story so as to appeal to followers of the mystery cults. By speaking their own language he hopes to demonstrate the superiority of his religion. Carpenter^{1.} calls attention to the "widespread Greek legends of the miraculous production of wine on certain annual occasions by Dionysos. At Elis in Greece, says Pausanias, where no god was more revered than Dionysos, he was believed to attend the festival known as the THYIA. Three empty kettles were taken into a building and deposited there by the priests in the presence of the citizens, and on the doors of the building the priests and all who chose to do so put their seals. The next morning the kettles were found full of wine. Pliny relates on the authority of Mucianus who had been three times consul that every year on the fifth of January a certain fountain in the temple of Dionysus in the Island of Andros tasted like wine, but that if the liquid were taken out of sight of the temple it tasted like water again. On the Island of Teos also a sacred spring ran with wine instead of water. Three hundred years later Epiphanius affirms that he had witnessed the same miracle on January 6 in Lycia and Caria, and tasted the miraculous wine."

1. The Johannine Writings, p. 379.

1.

The discourse with Nicodemus is another Johannine incident which has no Synoptic parallel. It may well be that the Evangelist is here recording some actual interview of Jesus with an anxious enquirer. Yet if Jesus had been so explicit in telling men about the way of salvation, it is again hard to understand how the Synoptics could have entirely overlooked so important a teaching. Perhaps this is the Fourth Evangelist's vivid and dramatic way of setting forth a teaching which does run consistently through the Synoptics, where Jesus is constantly concerned that people should become like little children. With him the kingdom of heaven is the society of the child-like: "Except ye turn, and become as little children, ye shall in no wise enter into the kingdom of heaven" (Mt 18:3; cf. Mt 19:13f; Lu 9:47f; 18:15ff; Mk 10:13-16). A little child is not self-seeking: "he that is least among you all, the same is great" (Lu 9:48c), and is teachable and free from prejudice. The child is also very inquisitive, and takes nothing for granted except the love that is all about it. This is what Jesus meant when he said that men and women had to become child-like before they could enter the kingdom.

The Fourth Evangelist uses this Synoptic idea, but in a very different way. "In the Synoptics," says Abbott,² '(little) children' may be called a 'fundamental word' of doctrine. In Jn it is never used except vocatively." With his tendency to crystallize and dramatize, the Fourth Evangelist

1. 3:1-21.

2. Johannine Vocabulary, p. 165.

has given the idea a local habitation and a name. "Now there was a man of the Pharisees, named Nicodemus, a ruler of the Jews: the same came unto him by night (3:1f). The coming by night has often been thought to signify his timidity: being a ruler, he dared not come openly. But it also accords well with the author's scheme of showing Jesus to be the light for which men have long been looking. Being a Jew, Nicodemus dwells in darkness and is wandering in the blackness of night; he comes to the true Light of the World.

Nicodemus misunderstands Jesus: "How can a man be born when he is old?" (3:4). This quibbling over the meaning of words may have been suggested to the author by the case of the lawyer who came to Jesus asking the same question, "Teacher, what shall I do to inherit eternal life?" (Lu 10:25b). The lawyer insists on technicalities: "And who is my neighbor?" (Lu 10:29b). With these Synoptic hints, it is not hard to see how the vivid incident could have been evolved, and the discussion about being born again is another link in the chain by which the Fourth Evangelist binds Jesus up with all of life.

Also, the idea of being born again has striking parallels in the literature of the mystery religions. Tat, in a discourse with Hermes¹ concerning Rebirth, says, "I know not, thrice-greatest one, from what womb a man can be born again, nor from what seed. --Hermes. My son, the seed is the true Good. --Tat. And who is it, Father, that begets?....Hermes. The Will of

1. Hermetica: Libellus XIII, secs. 1 and 2.

God, my son, is the begetter." Hermes then goes on to explain^{1.} that man has within him "irrational torments of matter" from which he must be cleansed if he is to be born again. These torments are "terrible and many" (φοβερούς καὶ πολλούς). He enumerates twelve:^{2.} ἄγνοια, λύπη, ἀκρασία, ἐπιθυμία, πλινθεσία, ἀπάτη, φθόνος, δόλος, ὀργή, προπέτεια, κακία. "There are many others also, my son; and by means of the senses they force the man who is bound in the prison of the body to suffer what they inflict. But when God has had mercy on a man, they depart from him together, one and all; and there is reason (ὁ λόγος) built up in him. Such is the manner of the Rebirth (παλιγγενεσίας)"^{3.} He continues,^{4.} "on the coming of Truth, the Good is completed....Truth (ἀλήθεια) has come to us, and on it has followed the Good, with Life and Light. No longer has there come upon us any of the torments of darkness."

Jesus adds, "Except one be born of water and the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God" (3:5). A bath in bull's blood was required for initiation into the mystery religions. The initiate "came forth from this bloody baptism believing that he was purified from his sin and 'born again' for eternity."^{5.} "For the highest Mysteries a threefold baptism was required, of Water, Fire, and Spirit."^{6.}

1. ib., p. 7b. 2. ib., paragraph. 7b. 3. ib., par. 7b.
 4. ib., paragraph 9.
 5. Angus: Christianity and the Mystery Religions, p. 95.
 6. ib., p. 83.

The Woman of Samaria

The story of Jesus' interview with the woman of Samaria (4:1-42) is not related in the Synoptics. Indeed, so far from having a Synoptic counterpart, the story seems to contradict the methods of Jesus as related by the Synoptists. The latter relate that in sending out the ten Jesus said, "Go not into any way of the Gentiles, and enter not into any city of the Samaritans: but go rather to the lost sheep of the house of Israel" (Mt 10:5f). And elsewhere he said, "I am not sent but unto the lost sheep of the house of Israel" (Mt 15:24). Did the interview actually take place as recorded in the Fourth Gospel?

On the face of it, the story appears to have been constructed; it bears certain marks of improbability. In accordance¹ with his habit of giving us a vivid picture of the setting, the author tells us "it was about the sixth hour." This is another of those details of time which seem to have been inserted for the sake of vividness rather than in the interest of historic accuracy. The sixth hour would be noon, and this was not the hour when women would be expected to be at a well. Further, there were other wells within the city; this one was some distance away. Why should the woman have come out here in the middle of the day? There are more serious difficulties. In view of the reticence of the Synoptic Jesus about acknowledging his Messiahship,¹ it seems incredible that this early in his ministry he should have answered the woman's question about the Messiah by

1. See p. 12f.

saying, "I that speak unto thee am he" (4:26)^{1.} Jesus' divination of the facts of her private life (4:18) is also not in keeping with the way Jesus usually worked. We are also entitled to note that, since the disciples had gone away to buy food (4:8), there was no one present to report the incident. That the Evangelist has constructed the story for the sake of the things it conveys, is further evidenced by the sudden disappearance of the woman; she drops completely out of the story, and we are left with Jesus preaching to the disciples about the harvest.

Can we find any reason why the author would have constructed such a story? What was his purpose in relating it? It gave him an excellent setting for the elaboration of some of the leading ideas of the Gospel. It is at a well, and there follows a colloquy about water. In a land where there was little water,^{2.} water was God's greatest gift. In Asia Minor the favorite name for a spring is "Huda-verdi", or "God hath given".^{3.} Already in the Old Testament water had been used in a figurative sense; see Jeremiah 2:13; 17:13; Zechariah 14:8; Yahweh Himself is the source of living water: Psalm 36:9, Song of Songs 4:15. At the feast of tabernacles "a golden vessel was filled with water from the Pool of Siloam, and the water was solemnly offered

1. Macgregor (p. 106f) calls this "the tensest and most dramatic moment in the whole of N.T. narrative"; cf. p. 115: "the inherent improbability that Jesus would reveal to a flippant woman a secret which he withheld for long even from his closest friends."

2. Cf. H. E. Fosdick: A Pilgrimage to Palestine, pp. 107, 174.

3. Macgregor, p. 98.

by the priest, the singers chanting, 'With joy shall ye draw^{1.} water out of the wells of salvation' (Isa. 12:3)." The Evangelist is concerned to show that Jesus transfigures all of life. The symbolism of water being already familiar to the Jews, it is natural that he should, in accordance with his manner, take this very dramatic way of pointing to Jesus as the water of life.

Yet even in using this Jewish symbolism he is subtly showing the inferiority of Judaism. This was Jacob's well. The Samaritans were proud of their descent from Jacob, through Joseph, Ephraim and Manasseh,^{2.} and Jacob was one of the Jewish patriarchs. The Fourth Evangelist is continually showing how the religion of Jesus transcended the religion of Judaism. This is likely the reason for his seizing upon Jacob's well as the setting for this discourse. Jacob's well symbolized all the Patriarchal inheritance, all that Judaism held dear--but that was ^{as} a stagnant pool when compared with the living water which was in Jesus.

The author also uses the discourse to demonstrate the universality of Jesus; ^{Jesus is represented as talking freely with} ~~the encounter is between~~ a woman who was a Samaritan. From of old, the Jews and the Samaritans had no dealings; see II Kings 17:24; Ezra 4; Nehemiah 6. Here the author presents a Jesus who transcends barriers of race, nationality and prejudice. Moreover, it was a woman with whom he

1. ICC on John, vol. I, p. 281.

2. Josephus: Antiquities, xi. 8. 6.

was talking. The disciples " marvelled (ἐθαύμαζον) that he was speaking with a woman " (4:27).

The harshness of treatment accorded women in the ancient world has often been exaggerated, but the fact remains that it was bad enough. It was a saying of the rabbis ^{1.} that it was "better that the words of the law should be burnt than delivered to women" and that "each time that the man prolongs converse with the woman he causes evil to himself, and desists ^{2.} from the Torah and in the end inherits Gehinnom." Lightfoot quotes the rabbinical precept, "Let no one talk with a woman in the street, no, not with his own wife."
^{3.}

Glover quotes Dr. Verrall to the effect that "the radical disease, of which, more than of anything else, ancient civilization perished" was "an imperfect ideal of woman." St. Paul had said that in Christ there was neither male nor female (Gal 5:28), but even he expected women to keep silent in the churches (I Cor 14:34), let men tell them how to dress their hair (I Cor 11:15), and be humbly obedient to their husbands (Eph. 5:22). To such a world the Fourth Evangelist says, "Jesus disregarded all distinctions, distinctions of sex as well as of birth and nationality. He is the giver of life, and the life that is in him is as much for women as for men."

Throughout the Fourth Gospel we note an emphasis upon

1. Quoted by Macgregor, p. 108.

2. Hor. Hebr., iii. 287.

3. Conflict of Religions, p. 163.

this finer treatment of women. The account of the anointing in Bethany is different from the Synoptic account; the Fourth Evangelist shows much more sympathy for the woman. The Synoptics relate simply that "as he sat at meat, there came a woman having an alabaster cruse of ointment of spikenard, very costly; and she broke the cruse, and poured it over his head" (Mk 14:3; cf. Mt 26:7). In the Fourth Gospel, "they made him a supper there: and ^{therefore} Martha served.... Mary took a pound of ointment of spikenard, very precious, and anointed the feet of Jesus, and wiped his feet with her hair: and the house was filled with the odour of the ointment" (11:2f). The Synoptics relate simply that, after the resurrection, Jesus "appeared first to Mary Magdalene" (Mk 16:9). But in the Fourth Gospel there is a long account of Mary's tearful vigil at the tomb (20:11), and of Jesus' dramatic appearance to her: "Woman, why weepest thou? whom seekest thou?" (20:15; cf. 20:11-18). It is the Fourth Evangelist alone who records Jesus' dying provision for the woman who bore him: "When Jesus therefore saw his mother, and the disciple standing by, whom he loved, he saith unto his mother, Woman, behold, thy son! Then saith he to the disciple, Behold, thy mother!" (19:26,27a). Citing numerous sayings of Jesus which he must have got at home, Glover ^{1.} says, "Whatever is the historical value of the Fourth Gospel, it lays stress on the close relation between

1. Conflict of Religions, p. 121.

Jesus and his mother." It is the Fourth Evangelist alone who records ^{that} Jesus "loved Martha, and her sister" (11:5). One of the most beautiful verses in the New Testament reveals the Evangelist's tender regard for womanhood: "A woman when she is in travail hath sorrow, because her hour is come: but when she is delivered of the child, she remembereth no more the anguish, for the joy that a man is born into the world" (16:21).

In addition to the universality of Jesus, the Evangelist is also concerned to show the spirituality of worship. The well was very near to Mount Gerizim, which was to Samaritans what Jerusalem was to the Jews. To this day, the Samaritans observe there the feast of the Passover, observing carefully the Mosaic ritual.¹ The Samaritans accepted the Law, but not the Prophets. At one blow the Fourth Evangelist has Jesus sweep away the particularism of Jews and Samaritans: "the hour cometh, when neither in this mountain, nor in Jerusalem shall ye worship the Father....God is Spirit: and they that worship him must worship in spirit and truth" (4:21,24).

If then we are to regard the story as having been constructed by the Evangelist, what are the materials out of which it was built? There are Synoptic sayings which, in view of the Evangelist's method, would account for it all. They relate Jesus' colloquy with a Syrophenician woman (Mk 7:25-30; Mt 15:

1. See H. E. Fosdick: A Pilgrimage to Palestine, pp. 124-131.

22-28), the first outside the fold of Judaism whose faith Jesus commended (Mt 15:28). The hero of Jesus' most revolutionary story is a Samaritan (Lu 10:25-37). The conclusion of the discourse at the well (4:35-38) contains distinct echoes of Mt 9:37-38: "The harvest indeed is plenteous, but the laborers are few. Pray ye therefore the Lord of the harvest, that he send forth laborers into his harvest." Jesus also speaks frequently in the Synoptics about sowing and reaping. The Fourth Evangelist condenses all this imagery of Jesus into one memorable discourse at the well.

Finally, we have to note that the symbolism of water was also used in the mysteries; the story of the woman at the well would, in addition to serving the foregoing purposes, have a special appeal to devotees of the mystery cults. Poimandres¹ speaks of the "water of immortal life" (τοῦ ἀμβροσίου ὕδατος). "On the tombs of those departed in the faith of the Egyptian Mysteries could be read, 'May Osiris give thee the water of refreshment,' and !..... 'May Isis grant thee the holy water of Osiris.'²"

1. Hermetica: Poimandres, Libellus I, section 29.
2. Angus: Quests, p. 91, quotes I. G. XIV, 2098.

1.
The raising of Lazarus is, on the whole, the most
2.
difficult incident in the Gospels. It is greater than other
raisings from the dead. In the Synoptics there are two in-
cidents usually considered as raisings from the dead: the
son of the widow of Nain (Lu 7:11-17) and the daughter of
Jairus (Mk 5:21-43; Mt 9:18-26; Lu 8:40-56). The former of
these has very slender attestation: it is recorded by Luke
only and appears to be a somewhat remote story of an incident
that has grown constantly larger in the telling: "he that was
dead sat up, and began to speak....And fear took hold on them
all: and they glorified God, saying, "A great prophet is
arisen among us" (Lu 7:15f). The other incident is related
in all three of the Synoptic Gospels, essentially in the same
way. Jesus expressly says, "the child is not dead, but sleep-
eth" (οὐκ ἀπέθανεν ἀλλὰ καθεύδει--Mk 5:39; cf. Mt 9:24; Lu
8:52). In spite of the insistence^{of the multitude} that the girl was dead
(Mk 5:40; Mt 9:24; Lu 8:53), there is no reason to import a
figurative meaning into Jesus' plain statement. The Synoptic
evidence for raisings from the dead therefore dwindles very
nearly to the vanishing point.

1. 11:1-44.

2. Stanton (The Gospels as Historical Documents, vol. III, p. 237) believes that the feeding of the five thousand and the walking on the water "are the mightiest works of Jesus related in any of the Gospels. They are those in which it is most difficult to imagine a mode of operation even remotely analogous to anything that we know, since even in the raising of the dead there might be supposed to be an extension of what happens in cases of suspended animation." Spinoza said of the Lazarus incident that "he would break his system in pieces if he could be convinced of the reality of this event"--Schweitzer: Quest of the Historical Jesus, p. 152.

In any case, the widow's son and Jairus' daughter had just died. Jesus broke up the funeral procession in the one case and in the other funeral arrangements had not yet been made. It was the custom in Palestine to bury on the day of death. But in the case of Lazarus, death had taken place some days before, and disintegration had already begun (11:39). There is no record in the Synoptics that Jesus ever restored a missing limb, and it is hard to imagine him resuscitating a ~~decaying~~ body. Further, the position assigned to the incident in the Fourth Gospel makes one suspect its historicity.

The raising of Lazarus has a very important part in the Fourth Gospel. It is this miracle which brings Jesus into the final conflict with the Jews, the conflict which costs him his life. Immediately after Lazarus is restored to life, "The chief priests therefore and the Pharisees gathered a council, and said, What do we? for this man doeth many signs. If we let him alone, all men will believe on him: and the Romans will come and take away our place and our nation.....So from that day forth they took counsel that they might put him to death" (11:47,48,53).

In the Synoptics, not only is the incident not mentioned, but when Jesus is brought before the Sanhedrin, the charge against him is very vague, namely, that "We found this man perverting our nation, and forbidding to give tribute to Caesar, and saying that he himself is Christ a king" (Lu 23:2). While in the Fourth Gospel almost every discourse contains some

statement which might be used against him by those who were bent on convicting him of blasphemy, in the Synoptics there is difficulty in finding any evidence against him at all: "Now the chief priests and the whole council sought witness against Jesus to put him to death, and found it not. For many bore false witness against him, and their witness agreed not together" (Mk 14:55f; cf. Mt 26:59f). The main charge finally trumped up against him in the Synoptics is, "We heard him say, I will destroy this temple that is made with hands, and in three days I will build another made without hands" (Mk 14:58).

With all the furore which, according to the Fourth Gospel, was attendant upon the raising of Lazarus, it is difficult to see why the Synoptics should not mention it at all. Herder (1797) said that the Fourth Evangelist's "recording of the raising of Lazarus, is, in spite of the silence of the Synoptists, easily explicable. The latter could not yet tell the story 'without exposing a family which was still living near Jerusalem to the fury of that hatred which had sworn with an oath to put Lazarus to death'. John, however, could recount it without scruple, 'for by this time Jerusalem was probably in ruins, and the hospitable family of Bethany were perhaps already with their friend in the other world'. This most naive of explanations," says Schweitzer,¹ "is reproduced in a whole series of Lives of Jesus." Canon Streeter² thinks

1. Quest of the Historical Jesus, p. 35.

2. The Four Gospels, p. 390.

the true explanation of the Lazarus story is to be found in the author's mystical nature, that the incident consists of auditions and visions which came to him in the mystic trance.

1.
As we noted, however, the author's mysticism does not seem to be of that type. Is there anything in the author's plan or method, as we have thus far observed it, that might account for the presence of the story in his Gospel? There are several things. To begin with, it is his best illustration of one of his leading ideas, the idea of life: so great is Jesus' life-giving power that not even death can stay it. In the second place, it has possible roots in the Synoptic story. Finally, it has parallels in the mystery religions.

Let us examine Synoptic hints out of which the drama might have been developed. One thinks immediately of Luke's account of the raising at Nain. Moved with compassion (Lu 7:13), Jesus restores to a widowed mother her only son (Lu 7:12). In the raising of Lazarus the same motive is present; though the Evangelist presents it as a mighty portent (11:4,40), he also tells us that Jesus was moved by compassion: "Jesus loved (*ἠγάπα*) Martha, and her sister, and Lazarus" (11:5), and at the grave "Jesus wept" (11:35). Further, there is in the Synoptic tradition the story of the death of a man named Lazarus (Lu 16:19-31); the rich man prayed that Lazarus might be allowed to return from the land beyond the grave (16:27). The closing words of the parable are, "Neither will they believe though one be raised from the dead."

1. Supra, pp. 39ff.

There is also a Synoptic tradition of Jesus' special friendship with two sisters, Mary and Martha (Lu 10:38-42). It is worthy of note that the Synoptics nowhere indicate that they had a brother.

With these elements, it is not hard to understand how the story might have been elaborated. Reasons why it should have been elaborated are not far to seek. We have indicated that it is the finest illustration of one of the main ideas of the Gospel. So wonderful is the life that is in Jesus, the Evangelist tells his Ephesian friends, that it can even revivify dead bodies. Death had been used in the Synoptics in a figurative sense. Jesus, following Isaiah, had said, "Let the dead bury their dead" (Mt 8:22). To one who was bent on showing the real greatness of the life that was in Jesus, this was a perfect parable. The Jews said the spirit lingered about the body for three days. But this was the fourth day, and all hope was gone. But no one, said the Evangelist, could be so spiritually dead that Jesus could not impart new life to him.

A striking parallel from the mysteries may account for the particular form the narrative took. Being based upon a primitive nature worship which saw in the annual return of spring a hopeful sign for human life, the idea of resurrection played an important part in all the mysteries. Specifically, there was in one of the mysteries a rite which is strangely like the Lazarus story. Angus¹ relates that "at the spring

1. Christianity and the Mystery Religions, p. 60.

festival (Megalensia) of the Great Mother the myth of Attis was rehearsed in a passion-play. The sacred pine-tree under which the unfaithful youth had mutilated himself was cut down. The tree then, prepared like a corpse, was carried into the sanctuary, accompanied by a statue of the god and other symbols. Then followed the lamentation of Attis, with an appropriate period of abstinence. On the Day of Blood the tree was buried, while the mystae in frenzied dances gashed themselves with knives to prove their participation in the sorrows of the god that they might have fellowship in his joy. Next night the Resurrection of Attis was celebrated by the opening of the grave. In the darkness of the night a light was brought to the open grave, while the presiding priest anointed the lips of the initiates with holy oil, comforting them with the words: "Be of good cheer, ye mystae of the god who has been saved; to you likewise shall come salvation from your trouble¹."

1. Angus refers to Minucius Felix, De err. prof. relig.
XXXI.

CHAPTER SEVEN

A SPIRITUAL GOSPEL

There are two schools of historians: one which says, Tell us the facts; another which says, Tell us what the facts mean. The Synoptic Gospels tells us the facts about Jesus' life, the Fourth Gospel tells us what the facts mean. The earliest solution of the problems arising out of the differences between the Fourth Gospel and the Synoptics, was that advanced by Clement of Alexandria, in a fragment preserved to us by Eusebius^{1.} from Clement's lost 'Outlines' (ὑποτυπώσεις): "that John, however, last, having observed that the bodily things had been exhibited in the Gospels, being exhorted by his friends, inspired by the Spirit, produced a spiritual Gospel,"^{2.} and it is this same solution to which our studies have led us. This is a spiritual Gospel. For questions of time and place the Fourth Gospel is not to be looked upon as historical in the sense in which the Synoptics are; the Fourth Evangelist was not interested in local or temporary things. Where he differs from the Synoptists on these points we are not to consider that he is correcting them. With such matters he was not concerned, and we do him an injustice when we seek to interpret him so prosaically. A spiritual Gospel, like other spiritual things, must be spiritually dis-

1. Hist. Ec., vi. 14.

2. τὸν μὲντοι Ἰωάννην ἔσχατον συνιδόντα ὅτι τὰ σωματικά ἐν τοῖς εὐαγγελίοις δεδῆλωται, προτραπέντα ὑπὸ τῶν γνωρίμων, πνεύματι θεοφορηθέντα, πνευματικὸν ποιῆσαι εὐαγγέλιον.

cerned. It may be that Jesus' ministry was longer than the one year accorded it in the Synoptics; it may be that Jesus did go up to Jerusalem more than once; it may be that Jesus did sometimes speak other than in parables. But we are not to look to the Fourth Gospel for definite information on these points. The Fourth Evangelist's interest was in the things Jesus had said to him and was saying to the people of Ephesus.

The Evangelist gives us many pointed indications that he is writing for this larger world. 7:52, for example: "They answered and said unto him, Art thou also of Galilee? Search and see that out of Galilee ariseth no prophet." It simply is not true that "out of Galilee ariseth no prophet". Jonah, Hoshea, Nahum, and perhaps Elijah, Elisha and Amos were of Galilee. The Jews to whom this statement is attributed would scarcely have been guilty of such a misrepresentation. But in the larger setting of the Graeco-Roman world such a statement was quite permissible. The inhabitants of Greek Ephesus might well sneer at Galilee--for they had never heard of anyone who had come from that despised province. We know from the preaching of Chrysostom that the Greeks of a slightly later age did "mock....at the rusticity¹ of the names" of persons in the Gospels. The Evangelist's point is that from an obscure quarter has come the Savior of the world.

1. Homilies, vol. II, p. 12.

That the Evangelist is writing for the larger world is further evidenced by his treatment of the disciples of the Lord: he mentions only those who might be expected to be well known. He does not mention Bartholomew, Lebbaeus, Thaddaeus or the brethren of the Lord.¹ He also seems to feel it necessary to explain who Judas was, and apologize for his presence among the disciples (cf. 12:4,6; 13:29; 18:2). In a land where the facts of ^{Jesus'} earthly career were not well known, it was necessary that he insert these explanatory remarks. He tells us nothing about Judas' end because Judas is merely an actor in his drama. The last we hear of Judas is that he "having received the sop went out straightway: and it was night" (13:30).

This is a spiritual Gospel, then, which gives us Jesus' life in its larger aspects. The best histories are those which give us things in their relationships, rather than in isolation. It has been remarked that of all the nations of antiquity only the Greeks and the Hebrews wrote histories --the rest wrote merely annals; the Fourth Evangelist has not given us simply a list of events in Jesus' life--he has told us the inmost secrets. Macaulay says of Machiavelli's 'History of Florence', "The History does not appear to be the fruit of much industry or research. It is unquestionably inaccurate. But it is elegant, lively, and picturesque, beyond any other in the Italian language. The reader, we believe,

1. cf. Abbott: Johannine Vocabulary, note to p. 192.

carries away from it a more vivid and more faithful impression of the national character and manners than from more correct accounts."^{1.} "I am not writing histories but lives," says Plutarch,^{2.} "and it is not necessarily in the famous action that a man's excellence or failure is revealed. But some little thing--a word or a jest--may often show character better than a battle with its ten thousand slain." It is to this order of ^{history that} the Fourth Gospel belongs: it gives us Jesus' character and abiding significance.

Almost from the beginning of New Testament interpretation it has been recognized that the Fourth Gospel belonged to the higher order of history and was not to be looked upon as historical in the same sense in which the Synoptists are. We have given the judgment of Clement. Origen in his commentary on John 1:9^{3.} said that the Evangelists preferred the spiritual to the literal, since a spiritual truth was often preserved in what might be called a literal untruth. Similarly, Epiphanius^{4.} (310-403 A.D.) says of the Fourth Evangelist that most of the things stated by him are spiritual or allegorical, the literal facts having already been made plain.^{5.} St. Augustine said, "in the four gospels, or rather the four books of the one Gospel, Saint John the Apostle, not unworthy in respect of spiritual intelligence, ^{to be} compared to the eagle, hath taken a higher flight, and soared in his preaching much

1. Essay on Machiavelli, near the end.

2. Alexander, I; cited by Glover: Conflict, p. 83.

3. x. 1-4.

4. cf. Warschauer: The Problem of the Fourth Gospel, p. 17f.

5. Jackson: The Problem of the Fourth Gospel, p. 1.

more sublimely than the other three, and in the lifting up^{1.} thereof would have our hearts lifted up likewise." Calvin says, "And as all of them (i.e., the Evangelists) had the same object in view, to point out Christ, the three former exhibit his body, if we may be permitted to use the expression, but John exhibits his soul."

Even the defenders of the traditional position, those who hold that the Fourth Gospel is historical in the same sense in which the Synoptics are, are compelled to admit something of our case. Lord Charnwood says,^{2.} "We cannot quite measure how far the Fourth Evangelist may not have been ready to go beyond his historical data in pointing his broad historical truth."^{3.} Drummond says, "John may have determined to write a life in which, disregarding the bodily things as already sufficiently provided for, he could set forth spiritually what the Messiah and Son of God had become to him." Even Dr. Askwith, who is at considerable pains to defend the accuracy of the Johannine chronology and its detailed historicity, admits, concerning the Last Supper,^{4.} "If we have not preserved for us the letter, yet we may believe that we have what is more important, the spirit," and, "It need not be claimed that the Evangelist is recording the ipsissima verba, or the Greek equivalent of the ipsissima verba of Jesus. But there seems to be no reason to doubt that we have in these

1. Commentary on John, vol. I, p. 22.

2. According to John, p. 92.

3. Character and Authorship, p. 428.

4. The Historical Value of the Fourth Gospel, p. 235.

chapters a faithful representation of the teaching of the Master on momentous subjects, given at a time when the minds of the disciples were receptive by reason of the solemnity of the occasion,^{1.} and elsewhere, "It is not necessary to suppose that the Fourth Evangelist gives us the ipsissima verba^{2.} of Jesus."

The Fourth Gospel is the Gospel of human experience. Jesus has proved himself to be all that the Fourth Evangelist claimed for him, or made him claim for himself. Lazarus is the miracle most frequently represented in the catacombs, and no one who knows the Fourth Gospel can ever attend a marriage feast or labor in the field at the harvest or look with seeing eyes upon a world of beauty or stand beside a loved one's grave, without being conscious of the abiding presence of this Word which became flesh and dwelt among us. It is a simple fact of human experience that there has never been found a better way of describing the Lord of Life than the way the Fourth Evangelist describes him. Are you thirsty? "Whosoever drinketh of the water that I shall give him shall never thirst" (4:14a). Hungry? "I am the bread of life: he that cometh to me shall never hunger" (6:35). Perplexed? "I am the way, the truth, and the life" (14:6). Lonely? "Henceforth I call you not servants but friends" (15:15). Deprived of bodily health? "I am come that they might have life,

1. The Historical Value of the Fourth Gospel, p. 234f.

2. ib., p. 284.

and that they might have it more abundantly" (10:10). Troubled? "It is I; be not afraid" (6:20). Lost your friend? "I myself am the resurrection and the life" (11:25). Afraid of death? "He that believeth in me, though he were dead, yet shall he live: And whosoever liveth and believeth in me shall never die" (11:25f). This mystical portrait remains, and will remain, our finest picture of Jesus of Nazareth. If we do not have in the Fourth Gospel a transcript of what Jesus said to men and women in Galilee or Jerusalem, we do have an accurate record of what he said to a sensitive and loving heart in Ephesus.

And that he did speak to men removed in time and space from him is as much an historic fact as that he spoke to the men of his own day and country. St. Paul's "Christ liveth in me" is just as much historic fact as St. Mark's "And he entered again into the synagogue". In the words of Ignatius,^{1.} "He that hath the word of Jesus truly, can hear his silence also." The impression a great person makes may be the most momentous of all historical facts about him, and it is exactly this impression which we have in the Fourth Gospel. And not alone is it the impression he made in his own day, but also the impression Jesus continues to make upon all who come to him with the problems of life. The wondrous thing about Jesus is that he continues to be to all his followers just what he was to the Fourth Evangelist. "History," says

1. To the Ephesians, 15.

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Henry Adams, "is only a catalogue of the forgotten." The Fourth Evangelist has given us rather a catalogue of the unforgettable.

Since the early days of the Christian church the author of the Fourth Gospel has been regarded as ὁ Θεολόγος the master-theologian, and his doctrines have been used as a norm for the shaping of Christian theology. But we do him an injustice when we think of him as a theologian; he is rather a mystic. His book has come, not from his head, but from his heart, and his is the book of reproducible human experience. The historical character of the Fourth Gospel, as nearly as it can be put into a sentence, is this: it is a development of Gospel tradition, chiefly of Synoptic material, in an apologetic interest, by a man who had had a deep religious experience. He tells us what Jesus had become to him, and what He could become to the men and women of the Mediterranean world.

In citing the parallels from the mystery religions, we do not wish to imply that the Evangelist derived his conception of the Christian mystery from them. All we are contending for it that the Evangelist, with that genius for adaptability which has been characteristic of Christianity throughout the ages and which is so well exemplified on any mission field today, was delivering his message in terms which could be understood by the people for whom he was writing.

1. Mont Saint Michel and Chartres, p. 34.

Jesus spoke to a few followers in Palestine; the Fourth Evangelist is addressing the Mediterranean world. The ideas are the fundamental ideas of the Christian religion; the language is the language of the Graeco-Roman world.

So far from deriving his ideas as well as his vocabulary from the mysteries, the Evangelist has used the language of the mysteries to show the superiority of Christian ideas. 'Life' was a catchword of the mysteries and philosophies of the contemporary world. But how feeble were all other ideas of life when compared with that of which the Fourth Evangelist spoke! Stoicism was the noblest of all these religions; let us hear Marcus Aurelius on 'life'. In spite of much noble advice to himself about the conduct of life in the present world, he has not much hope for the future. "But a little while," he says,^{1.} "and thou shalt be burnt ashes or a few dry bones, and possibly a name, possibly not a name even." Those who know the Jesus of the Fourth Gospel have already entered upon a life which partakes of the life that is in God, and carries over into eternity.

Secrecy characterized the mysteries; their good things were only for the initiates. Plutarch says,^{2.} "As to the mysteries in which we may receive the greatest manifestations and illuminations of the truth concerning daemons--like Herodotus, I say, 'Be it unspoken'." Turning to the religion

1. Meditations of Marcus Aurelius, Bk. V, sec. 33.

2. de def. or. 14, 417C--cited by Glover: Conflict of Religions, p. 92f.

of Thrice-Great Hermes, we find the same occultness. Asclepius in a letter to King Ammon advises, "keep the teaching untranslated, in order that secrets so holy may not be revealed to Greeks"¹. One of the fragments of the Hermetic literature runs, "For it is not possible for the uninitiated to have such holy secrets told to them."² In Gnosticism the elements of *γνώσις* were not accessible to the outsider, but were carefully guarded and revealed only to initiates. A principal feature of Gnosticism was the communication about the being, nature and names of the Aeons, the formulae with which they must be addressed, and the symbols which had to be shown them.³ Irenaeus says, "They tell us, however, that this knowledge has not been openly divulged, because all are not capable of receiving it, but has been mystically revealed by the Saviour....to those qualified for understanding it." "They are...abstruse, and portentous, and profound mysteries, to be got at only with great labor by such as are in love with falsehood."⁴

In contrast with all of these, the Fourth Evangelist points out that Jesus preached 'openly'-- *παρρησία* is a favorite word of his. "The high priest therefore asked Jesus of his disciples, and of his teaching. Jesus answered him, I have spoken openly to the world; I ever taught in synagogues, and in the temple, where all the Jews come together; and in

1. Hermetica: Lib. XVI, sec. 2.

2. Hermetica: Fragment 23.

3. Adv. Haeres.; p. 319 of the volume in Ante-Nicene Fathers.

4. ib., p. 321.

secret spake I nothing" (18:19f). It is not strictly accurate to say that Jesus spake nothing in secret. Much of Jesus' Synoptic teaching is given to the disciples in veiled language, lest the unprepared multitudes misunderstand (Mt 13: 10ff). But Jesus' words were ultimately for the world, and free to all--hence, in the larger light of history, the Fourth Evangelist is right in making him speak 'openly'; "this man's¹ doctrines are clearer than the sunbeams," said Chrysostom.

The miracle of it all is that in addressing his own age, the Fourth Evangelist was addressing every age, and in speaking to his own people he was speaking to every people. We have seen that his message was adapted to the world in which it was written; this was necessary if he were to be heard beyond his own narrow circle of those who already believed anyway. But in adapting it to one age, he has adapted it to every age. In transplanting Christianity once, he made of it a hardy plant which ever since has been able to endure the rigors of any climate. The Fourth Gospel is the firstfruit of that miraculous adaptability which characterized Jesus of Nazareth. Today we hear of "The Christ of the Indian Road"--he is also at home on roads in China or the Philippines. It was the Fourth Evangelist who set him free from the limits of despised Galilee and made him at home in the universe.

1. Homily II, vol. I, p. 13.

II.

Since this is a spiritual Gospel, we may expect it to dwell on spiritual things. It is only when we abandon the quest for detailed information on matters of time and place that we fully realize the debt we owe to the Fourth Evangelist. It is he who enshrines for us in his Gospel the dear things of the Christian faith.

The Fourth Gospel is the Gospel of love and fatherhood. The noun ἀγάπη does not occur at all in Mark, occurs once in Matthew and once in Luke, seven times in the Fourth Gospel.^{1.} The verb ἀγαπάω occurs five times in Mark, seven times in Matthew, eleven times in Luke,^{2.} thirty-seven times in the Fourth Gospel.^{3.} φιλέω occurs not at all in Mark,^{4.} four times in Matthew, once in Luke, thirteen times in the Fourth Gospel.^{5.} Mark "mentions God as the Father of men once, and God the Father, in all, four times: John uses the term a hundred and twenty times. Mark abundantly uses the term Gospel, or Good News, but nowhere tells us what the 'good news' is: John nowhere uses the term, but everywhere exhibits the Son of God as bringing to mankind the best of good news, namely, that God is a loving Father, and that men can find an eternal home in His love."^{6.}

This is the Gospel of the heavenly family. Where the Synoptics speak of a kingdom, the Fourth Evangelist im-

1. Abbott: Johannine Vocabulary, p. 210. 3. ib.
 2. Of these, two in Mark, four in Matthew and one in Luke are quotations from the Old Testament.
 4. That is, meaning 'love'; it occurs in Mark 14:44, Mt 26:48, Lu 22:47, meaning 'kiss'.
 5. Abbott: Johannine Vocabulary, p. 210. 6. ib., p. 188f.

plies a Family; a feature of the Gospel is "a predominance of simple terms such as a child might use to describe family life."^{1.} In order to get into this Family, one has to be "born from above" (3:3). "In my Father's house are many mansions," says Jesus (14:2).^{2.} He was not "like a courier engaging rooms in an inn"; it was no strange place to which he was going--it was his Father's house, and he knew that his Father would find room for all. "In a family, 'prayer' from the children to the father is out of place. Hence Jn never uses the word 'pray'. The Son speaks always of 'requesting' or 'asking', and He bids the disciples 'ask' what they will in His name."^{3.}

This is the Gospel of eternal life, a conception which has all but entirely replaced the Synoptic Kingdom of God. The phrase εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα (or εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας) occurs twice in Mark, once in Matthew, twice in Luke, twelve times in the Fourth Gospel.^{4.} The epithet 'eternal' or 'everlasting'; applied sometimes by Mark and Matthew to 'sin', 'fire', etc.,^{5.} is applied by the Fourth Evangelist to nothing but life.

This is the Gospel of the abiding presence. But for it we should not have the word παράκλητος which occurs four times in the Fourth Gospel, not at all in the Synoptics.^{6.} The word μένω occurs twice in Mark, thrice in Matthew, seven

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1. Abbott: Johannine Vocabulary, p. 191.
 2. Abbott: Johannine Grammar, p. 111.
 3. Abbott: Johannine Vocabulary, p. 190.
 4. ib., p. 203.
 5. ib., p. 193.
 6. ib., p. 218.

times in Luke, ~~forty~~^{1.} times in the Fourth Gospel.^{1.} "The predominance of the thought of 'abiding' in the writer's mind may be inferred from the fact that 'abide' occurs in the First Epistle of St. Jn almost as many (23) times as in all the non-Johannine Epistles taken together (25)."^{2.}

How many other precious things of the faith are found only in this spiritual Gospel! "Lay down one's life (τίθημι ψυχάν)^{3.} occurs eight times in the Fourth Gospel, not at all in the Synoptics. Of how much would we be robbed without such verses as: "No longer do I call you servants....but I have called you friends" (15:15). "Howbeit when he, the Spirit of truth, is come, he shall guide you into all the truth" (16:13). "In the world ye have tribulation: but be of good cheer; I have overcome the world" (16:33b).

^{4.} This is the cosmopolitan Gospel. Robinson relates an interesting experiment in which it was shown that the Fourth Gospel is the favorite book of 90% of the people who know enough Scripture to have a favorite book. This is no accident. We noted as ~~one~~ of the characteristics of the Gospel its limited vocabulary; the point is that the words it does use are words with a universal appeal. The Fourth Gospel, says Abbott,^{5.} "omits words of local or temporary interest and rings the changes on a small number of elementary words and their synonyms." As between Mark and the Fourth Evangelist, he notes,^{6.}

1. Johannine Vocabulary, p. 220; cf. p. 195.

2. Johannine Vocabulary, note to p. 195.

3. ib., p. 208.

4. The Gospel of John.

5. Johannine Vocabulary, p. 348.

6. ib., p. 245.

"Mark is the most concrete of the Evangelists, John the most abstract....In Mark, Christ's sayings are brief, and the Evangelistic comments turn largely on local and contemporary affairs (the death of John the Baptist, Herodias, Herodians, washings of the Pharisees, Corban, etc.): John--whether in reporting Christ's words or in commenting on them--deals in discourses and long dialogues and cosmopolitan or celestial things." "Generally, we may say that John prefers to pass over local distinctions of sects, classes, and rulers, material distinctions of physical evil, and moral distinctions of various sins, in order to concentrate the mind on the elements of the spiritual world, light and darkness, spiritual life and death, truth and falsehood."^{1.} "Even the distinctive names of 'Sadducees', 'Scribes', and 'Publicans'--so important to Jews--nowhere find mention in this cosmopolitan Gospel."^{2.}

^{3.}
The Encyclopedia Britannica points out how the arrogant exclusiveness of Judaism has cost us much knowledge of the other nations of the ancient world: Egypt, Babylon, Nineveh, Tyre and Sidon were of interest only as they contributed to the glory of Israel. "Rejected by the Yanweh who became the Christian God, they have remained to the present day, in Sunday Schools and in common opinion, not nations of living men, with the culture of arts and sciences, but outcasts who do not enter into the divine scheme of the world's

1. Johannine Vocabulary, p. 157.

2. ib., p. 156.

3. art. History.

history." The Synoptists share this limitation of outlook; in the Synoptics it is to the lost sheep of the House of Israel that Jesus is sent (Mk 7:24-27; Mt 15:21-26).

But the Fourth Gospel has a world outlook. **κόσμος** occurs twice in Mk, eight times in Mt, three times in Luke, seventy-five times in the Fourth Gospel.^{1.} This is the only Gospel in which the Greeks are mentioned. **Ἕλληνες** occurs not at all in the Synoptics, three times in the Fourth Gospel. **Ἰουδαῖος** occurs not at all in the Synoptics, three times in the Fourth Gospel. The plural **Ἰουδαῖοι** occurs six times in Mark, five times in Matthew, five times in Luke, sixty-eight times in the Fourth Gospel.^{3.} 1:47 is the only place in the Gospels where an Israelite is mentioned. The Fourth Evangelist alone mentions the Romans and, as we have indicated, the Greeks, "the former as destined to 'take away' the 'place' of the unholy 'nation' (11:48), the latter as exemplifying the devout and intelligent world awakening to the truth--the 'coming' of the 'isles', as Isaiah (60:9) predicted, to the light of God's glory."^{2.} It is the Fourth Evangelist alone who tells us that the inscription on the Cross was written **Ἑβραῖστί, Ῥωμαῖστί, Ἑλληνιστί** .

This is a spiritual Gospel, and we turn now to look at some of the things it has spiritualized.

1. Abbott: Johannine Vocabulary, p.232.

2. ib., p. 192.

3. ib., p. 206.

III.

A certain school of modern critics has made Jesus out to be nothing more than an apocalyptist. It is undeniable that there is a large element of apocalypticism in the New Testament. Whatever one may think of Jesus' own conception of the millenium, it is certain that the early Christians expected it in an immediate and materialistic way. In view of which, one remarkable feature of the Fourth Gospel is its spiritualized apocalyptic: "Verily, verily I say unto you, He that heareth my word, and believeth him that sent me, hath eternal life, and cometh not into judgment, but hath passed out of death into life....The hour cometh and now is, when the dead shall hear the voice of the Son of God; and they that hear shall live" (5:24f). "The Fourth Gospel," says Dean Inge,¹ "is perhaps the only book in the New Testament in which there is no expectation of the Parousia or of the approaching end of the age."²

Canon Bindley believes that Jesus himself said nothing about the end of the world: "There is nothing in what is called our Lord's eschatological discourse which even hints at the end of the world. Everything that is said there can be explained of the abolition of the Jewish policy[†] in the destruction of Jerusalem. And if this be so, it is clear why the Fourth Gospel has preserved ~~no reminiscence of this discourse~~.^{scot} When that Gospel was written Jerusalem had fallen; the Holy City was no longer the centre of Jewish (or even of Christian) life; and

1. The Theology of the Fourth Gospel, Cambridge Biblical Essays, p. 283.

2. Symbolism in the Old and New Testaments, Expository Times, Sept., 1929, pp. 548ff.

therefore no report of Christ's words on the subject was any longer needed." In any case, the Fourth Evangelist has nothing to say about the end of the world. For him, Jesus has already come. For the eschatological discourse of the Synoptics he substitutes the Farewell Discourse of chapters 13ff.

People in the Graeco-Roman world were asking how a man who had been put to death could be the Savior of the world. The Fourth Evangelist's answer is that, though he was dead, yet does he live. He has already come in the hearts of his followers, and his second stay on earth, in the Spirit, is much more fruitful than his short stay in Galilee in the days of his flesh. The idea of a return, for the Christ within, would be meaningless. For the same reason, the future resurrection and judgment become irrelevant. The abiding Christ is himself the resurrection and the life, and his presence makes for a constant judgment between good and evil. The phrase 'kingdom of God' or 'kingdom of heaven' occurs more than eighty times in the Syn-^{1.}optics, while it occurs only once in the Fourth Gospel (3:3,5). The Synoptic kingdom of God was bound up with conceptions that were specifically Jewish: the material prosperity of the Old Testament prophets and the supremacy of the Jews over all their foes. The Fourth Evangelist has replaced all this with the universal conception of 'life'. "The Parousia finds a real fulfilment in the gift of the Paraclete, in which the Incarnation becomes a permanent factor in the life of humanity; the mil-

1. Abbott: Johannine Vocabulary, p. 173, note 7.

lenial kingdom is the ideal of a Christian Church."^{1.}

A second thing the Fourth Evangelist has spiritualized is the universe--that is, he has depopulated it of demons. The world in which he lived was a world which attributed everything, from a thunderstorm to a toothache, to demons. In the Synoptics we find them responsible for dumbness (Mt 9:32f) epilepsy (?) (Mt 8:28ff, Mk 5:2ff, Lu 8:27ff, Mk 9:14ff, Mt 17:14ff, Lu 9:37ff), and all manner of afflictions (cf. Mk 1:23, 1:32, 3:11; Lu 6:18; Mk 7:25ff; Mt 15:22ff); demon-possessed swine rush head-long into the sea (Mk 5:13, Lu 8:33). The Fourth Evangelist has but one reference to angels (12:29), and the only times he mentions demons are in connections that would seem to indicate that he himself does not believe in them. The few references he has to them are in such passages as this: "And many of them (i.e., the Jews) said, He hath a demon, and is mad; why hear ye him? Others said, These are not the sayings of one possessed with a demon" (10:20f; cf. 7:20; 8:48, 49, 52).

Demons played a great part in the mystery religions. References to them in the Hermetica indicate how prominently they figured in the thoughts of men. One passage^{2.} reads, "The daemons then govern all our earthly life, using our bodies as their instruments," and another,^{3.} "the souls which have transgressed the rule of piety, when they depart from the body, are

1. Inge: op. cit., p. 264.

2. Libellus XVI, sec. 16.

3. Asclepius III, Hermetica, p. 371, vol. I.

handed over to the daemons, and are swept and hurled to and fro in those strata of the air which teem with fire and hail." The Ghostics had a universe swarming with demons.

Harnack, in his "Expansion of Christianity", has an excursus, "The Conflict with Demons". He says,^{1.} "In their dogmatic and their philosophy of religion, polytheism certainly became more and more attenuated as a sublime monotheism was evolved; but in their practical life they plunged more helplessly than ever into the abysses of an imaginary world of spirits."

We have seen how the Fourth Evangelist made use of those intimations of Christianity which he found in the mystery religions. In the matter of demons he does not seek to enlighten or correct. He merely ignores--and gives a conception of the world in which demons ultimately become irrelevant.

Many a saint has been comforted by the thought of angels, but they can scarcely be attractive to the modern mind. We have perhaps not explained demons out of our universe, but we have explained away their functions, and it is remarkable to find that the Fourth Evangelist does not believe in them either. Angels and demons belonged to a world view which has passed away; the Fourth Evangelist's world view is timeless. "Our religion has no geology," said Dr. Mackenzie. Neither has it angels or demons, and we have the Fourth Evangelist to thank for spiritualizing our universe.

1. op. cit., vol. I, p. 180.

IV.

Since this is a spiritual Gospel, we must seek, in our understanding of it, to eliminate all non-spiritual things; that is, we must not rest our interpretation upon things the author considered unimportant. One non-spiritual thing in the Fourth Gospel is its details. We noted in the beginning that one of the characteristics of the Gospel was an abundance of detail. This has been one of the chief arguments used by defenders of the traditional view, that is, the apostolic authorship and literal historicity. It is argued^{1.} that the topographical and geographical details prove the author to have been an eye-witness, and that this lends credibility to his chronological details.

Upon closer examination, however, the details lose their verisimilitude and appear rather to be the insertion of a man interested in giving the proper dramatic setting to his narratives. Bacon^{2.} points out that the topographical details "correspond with just the sites, and only those, which could be and would be pointed out to the devout pilgrim." Nor can we forget that in one detail he is quite mistaken. He tells us that "Philip was from Bethsaida, of the city of Andrew and Peter" (1:44). The home of Andrew and Peter was not at Bethsaida, but at Capernaum (Mk 1:21,29). We remember too, as Drummond reminds us,^{3.} "that the author's fullest graphic power

1. E.g., by Drummond: Character and Authorship, pp. 366-374; Dods: EGT, John, Introduction; cf. Peabody's essay, "Internal Tokens of Authorship" in "The Fourth Gospel--Its Authorship, pp. 112, 115f, and Lightfoot's essay in the same volume, p. 150.

3. op. cit., p. 379.

2. The Fourth Gospel in Research and Debate, p. 388.

is displayed in narratives, such as that of the raising of Lazarus, which are most exposed to objection on purely critical grounds, or, like the conversation with the woman of Samaria, at which John was not present." Conjectural details make past events real and living, but that does not make the details trustworthy. The Fourth Evangelist's abundance of detail does not entitle him, on such matters, to preference over the Synoptists.

As a matter of fact, amplitude of detail is not characteristic of an eye-witness. The Genesis account of the Flood, for example, is full of details: the exact dimensions of the ark, the exact day and date on which each event took place. Every child knows the height of the ogres slain by Jack-the-Giant-Killer. In the Apocryphal Gospels, the further we get from the life of Jesus, the more details we have. We learn the names of the parents of the Virgin, of the woman with the issue of blood, and of the two thieves. We also learn the exact date of the death of Joseph the Carpenter, "and the account of the old man's closing hours, which is put into the mouth of Jesus himself, is related with a graphic detail which might be thought to betray the hand of an eye-witness, if anyone cared to maintain such an absurd thesis."^{1.} In the Book of James, or Protevangelium,^{2.} we learn of Mary that "when she was six months old her mother stood her upon the ground to try if

1. Drummond: Character and Authorship, p. 377.

2. M. R. James: The Apocryphal New Testament, p. 41.

she would stand, and she walked seven steps and returned unto her bosom." Mary was born on the 15th of Hathor,^{1.} and Joseph died at the age of 111 years.^{2.}

In the Synoptics the anointing in Bethany is done by "a woman" (Mk 14:3; Mt 26:7), who throughout remains anonymous. The Fourth Evangelist tells us that it was Mary who did the anointing (12:3). This tendency to identification and simplification is accentuated in the Apocryphal Gospels. In the Coptic Apocryphal Gospels, for example, the Virgin Mary is identified with all the other Marys of the Gospels.^{3.} In one place she is made to say, "I am Mary Magdalene because the village wherein I was born was Magdalia. My name is Mary of Cleopa. I am Mary of James the son of Joseph the carpenter." "In the Book of Bartholomew the appearance of Christ to Magdalene after the resurrection is turned into an appearance to his mother."^{4.} The same tendency is indicated in the second century comments on the Fourth Gospel itself. Concerning the marriage feast in Cana, the mother of Jesus is said to be the sister of the bridegroom's parents, and the bridegroom was identified with John the son of Zebedee.^{5.}

Miss Underhill points out^{6.} that we consistently find repeated in the writings of the mystics "the peculiar

1. History of Joseph the Carpenter, Apocryphal New Testament, p. 87.
 2. ib., p. 84.
 3. ib., p. 87.
 4. ib., p. 88.
 5. See ICC on John, vol. I, p. 73.
 6. The Mystic Way, pp. 236ff.

fusion of poetry and actuality: the minute and homely detail, and the sense of eternal significance." "Such dramatic reconstructions of gospel history often adorned with original details of great beauty are common in the mediaeval mystics."^{1.} The details in the Fourth Gospel do not support the traditional view. On the contrary, they are such details as might present themselves to the keen eye of the mystic, or a dramatist insert to give vividness to his play. The impression of verisimilitude which the details convey is not a proof of greater accuracy, but an index to the author's great soul, a soul which could transport men from the busy streets of Ephesus to the quiet highways of Eternity.

In the second place, we have to distinguish between a spiritual and a non-spiritual use of allegory. To say that the Fourth Evangelist used allegory is not to say that his book is full of obscure allusions and hidden meanings. Since the days of Origen, allegorical interpretation of the book has often run riot. We must distinguish between allegory and allegorical interpretation, between exegesis and eisegesis. An important guide to the exegesis of the Fourth Gospel is the author's own exegesis, that is, his use of the Old Testament. His use of the Old Testament Scripture is much more congenial to the modern mind than that of some of the other New Testament writers. Matthew and the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews make large, and often questionable, use of the Old Testament.

1. The Mystic Way, note 1, page 236.

The Fourth Gospel contains nothing of Old Testament typology gone mad; its use of Scripture is, like that of our Lord himself, delightfully free and refreshing.

A second important point to keep in mind is the frankness and beauty of Synoptic symbolism, the foundation upon which Johannine symbolism is built. Of the parables in the Synoptics it has been observed "that it is the normal and regular in Nature which is presented for our study; the yearly harvest, not the three years' famine; the constant care and justice of God, not the 'special providence' or the 'special judgment'."^{1.} So it is in the Fourth Gospel; its symbolism is never forced or arbitrary, and contains no striving after effect. Its imagery is derived from the ordinary objects of daily life: bread, water, vine, shepherd. Its basis is the simple belief, Platonic rather than Jewish, that the things that are are *σκία τῶν ὄντων* ; "the higher meaning is not forced into the symbol, but grows out of it naturally and inevitably."^{2.}

The allegories of the Fourth Evangelist are not strained or artificial, but smooth and natural and dignified. Some of his interpreters, however, have sought to impose upon him an allegory which is trivial and unworthy. Origen, for example, finds spiritual food in the shoes which the Baptist felt himself not worthy to unloose.. He considers that "the inhumanisation when the Son of God assumes flesh and bones is

1. Inge: Christian Mysticism, p. 301.

2. E. F. Scott: The Fourth Gospel, p. 57f.

one of his shoes, and that the other is the descent into Hades!"¹ Clement of Alexandria has "an allegory drawn from the five barley loaves and the two fishes on which the multitude were fed, the former typifying the Hebrew Law ('for barley is sooner ripe for harvest than wheat') and the fishes Greek philosophy 'born and moving amid Gentile billows'."² The mantle of Origen and Clement has fallen on a school of modern interpreters, of whom M. Loisy is the chiefest. These searchers after hidden significance find the most profound truths in the most obscure places. They maintain that the characters, place names, and numbers in the Fourth Gospel have some subtle meaning.

As for characters, Nathanael has been held to represent Paul.³ The mother of Jesus has come in for special attention. M. Loisy says, *Quand il parle de la mère de Jésus c'est à Israel qu'il pense, non à Marie.*"⁴ Strachan says that the mother of Jesus is "a symbolic figure, denoting the finest spiritual traditions of the race from which Jesus sprang."⁵ Similarly, E. F. Scott thinks the mother of Jesus "would seem to represent the ancient faith,--the 'mother' that had given birth to Christianity,--and Jesus commends her, as He dies, to the care of His beloved disciple." As for place names, Origen⁶ thinks that the Jordan means "their going down", and is therefore an especially appropriate place for the baptism of Je-

1. Ante-Nicene Fathers, extra volume, p. 367.

2. Strom. vi, 93, 94; quoted by Glover: Conflict, p. 277.

3. See E. F. Scott: The Fourth Gospel, p. 47.

4. The Fourth Evangelist, p. 56f.

5. The Fourth Gospel, p. 74f.

6. Commentary on John, Bk. VI, ch. 25.

sus because the Children of Israel crossed there, as did Elijah and Elisha (II Kings 2:8,11), and Naaman the Syrian^{1.} bathed there (II Kings 5:9,10). 'Capernaum', he says, means "'field of consolation'. For after the feasting and the wine it was fitting that the Saviour should come to the field of consolation with His mother and His disciples, to console those whom He was training for disciples and the soul which had conceived Him by the Holy Ghost, with the fruits which were to stand in that full field." E. A. Abbott finds Sychar in the root ש כ ש , 'drunkenness'; it is an opprobrious name for Shechem (cf. Isa. 28:1); this, he thinks, is suitable to the moral of the dialogue, which has to do with drinking.

Numerical interpretation of the Fourth Gospel has also flourished. The draught of fishes caught on the post-resurrection morning (21:11) was "a hundred and fifty and three". Some have found in this the square of the twelve Apostles plus the square of the three Persons of the Trinity.^{2.} According to Jerome, ancient naturalists distinguished 153 varieties of fish; the Gospel net is to embrace every conceivable variety of men. When the two disciples of John came to Jesus, it was "about the tenth hour" (1:39); ten was anciently regarded as a number of perfection, and M. Réville^{3.} thinks

1. Commentary on John, Bk. V, ch. 6.

2. Referred to by Inge: Christian Mysticism, p. 272, note.

3. Le quatrième Évangile, p. 129; cited by Alan England Brooke: Historical Value of the Fourth Gospel, Cambridge Biblical Essays, p. 305.

"'the tenth hour' a hint that for the disciples who left the Baptist and followed the Lord the transference from the one discipleship to the other marked the beginning of a new era for the world."

The woman of Samaria had had five husbands (4:18). Some have said that the five husbands represented the five books of the Law, others that the five husbands represented five false modes of worship, five false gods brought by the five groups of settlers transported from Mesopotamia by the Assyrian conquerors after the fall of the northern kingdom (II Kings 17:24,31). The five husbands thus represent five deities taken over from heathendom; the present husband is the remnant of pure Yahweh worship. There were five porches at the pool of Bethesda; these, too, have been said to represent the five books of Moses. The man had been in his infirmity "thirty and eight years" (5:5). Forty was the round number used by the ancients to denote completeness; thirty-eight means that his infirmity was very near the stage where it would be past healing. Others have said that the thirty and eight years represent the thirty and eight years of Israel's wandering in the wilderness (Dt. 2:14). Some have supposed that the statement "forty and six years was this temple in building" has an esoteric significance. "The name 'Ἀδάμ has 46 as its numerical equivalent, and thus the occult reference.... would be to some contrast between the first and second Adam."

One cannot but feel that this sort of thing results from a complete misunderstanding of the aims and methods of the Fourth Evangelist. Such interpretations are far removed from the sane and frank symbolism in which the Evangelist delighted. His symbols were natural and open, not forced or hidden. To seek for recondite messages in the place names or numbers in the Gospel is little more than a recrudescence of the Gnosticism against which the Evangelist was protesting so strongly. The Fourth Evangelist's use of symbolism is like that of our Lord himself who, as Chrysostom tells us,¹ "did not teach as Pythagoras did, commanding those who came to him to be silent for five years, or to sit like senseless stones; neither did he invent fables defining the universe to consist of numbers; but casting away all this devilish trash and mischief, he diffused such simplicity through his words, that all he said was plain, not only to wise men, but also to women and youths."

1. Homilies, vol. I, p. 13.

CHAPTER EIGHT

THE FOURTH EVANGELIST'S PHILOSOPHY OF HISTORY

The Fourth Gospel is thus seen to be, as the ancient fathers said, a spiritual Gospel. It enshrines for us the dearest things of our Christian faith: the things we most want to know about Jesus, things that are eternal and universal, not temporal or local. This way of writing history is a fairly common one: it sees things whole--and this, after all, is the only kind of history that really matters. The Fourth Evangelist has spiritualized our idea of apocalyptic, our idea of the nature of the unseen world, and our Christian faith by making it center upon a living person rather than upon a hardened tradition. We come in this concluding chapter to consider the Fourth Evangelist's philosophy of history.

I.

Mark says that the **ΑΡΧΗ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ** was the preaching of the Baptist. He conceives the mission of Jesus as reaching no further back than the beginning of the proclamation of **μετανοίας εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν**. But Matthew, interested in showing Jesus to be the fulfilment of Jewish hopes, in his first sentence takes Jesus clear back to the founder of the Jewish nation: **ΒΙΒΛΟΣ γενέσεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ υἱοῦ Δαυίδ υἱοῦ Ἀβραάμ**. Luke goes even further back and links Jesus with the founder of the human race:

tracing him back through an interesting line, he makes him ultimately τοῦ Ἀδάμ, and from there he makes a very bold leap: Adam, he says, was τοῦ Θεοῦ.

There is left for the Fourth Evangelist only one possible step further back, and he takes it: ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦ ὁ λόγος. The silence of the Fourth Evangelist about the Virgin Birth is not to be construed as an argument against it. This spiritual Gospel is interested only in eternal things, and the Virgin Birth lay entirely outside his sphere of interest. The Evangelist was concerned to set Jesus free from earthly limitations and to show him in his cosmic significance. Accordingly, his mystic eye perceived that the earthly life of Jesus, who came and dwelled for a time among men, was but one phase of his existence: he had always dwelled with God, he was of the very nature of God.

The Fourth Evangelist's philosophy of history is that Jesus does in time what God does in eternity; his is the Gospel of God made manifest. ἐμφανίσω occurs once in Matthew, the only time in the Synoptics, twice in the Fourth Gospel; φανερώω occurs once in Mark,¹ not at all in the other Synoptics, nine times in the Fourth Gospel. The Evangelist lays great stress on the idea of witnessing--everything testifies to something more. The verb μαρτυρέω occurs only twice in the Synoptics, once in Matthew and once in Luke; it occurs thirty-three times in the Fourth Gospel. Similarly, the noun μαρτυρία

1. Plus two irrelevant passages: 4:22; 16:12,14.

occurs ~~three~~^{1.} times in Mark, not at all in Matthew, once in Luke, fourteen times in the Fourth Gospel." In the beginning we noted the Evangelist's feeling, common to mystics, X that everything that is, in being what it is, is symbolic of something more. The Fourth Gospel is the Gospel of the something more that was in Jesus' life. We noted in the beginning, too, that the Evangelist viewed certain incidents from the life of Jesus in the light of subsequent events. As a matter of fact, that is what he does with the whole of Jesus' career--he views it sub specie aeternitatis. If he has not been concerned to describe minutely Jesus' life in time, he has given Him His rightful place in eternity.

The life of Jesus is for the Fourth Evangelist far more than the life of a Deity who came and dwelled among men--it is a parable. In the hands of Jesus the whole world became a parable to tell men about the Father. In the hands of the Fourth Evangelist, the earthly life of Jesus became a parable to teach men about God. What Jesus did in a few short years--perhaps only one--God is continually doing. What Jesus did in time, the Father does in eternity. The Evangelist is constantly emphasizing the correspondence between the visible and the invisible, between the incarnate God below and the eternal God above, between the things the Son does and the things the Father does. The life of Jesus is a picture of what God is continually doing for the world: "The Son

1. Abbott: Johannine Vocabulary, p. 231.

can do nothing of himself, but what he seeth the Father doing: for what things soever he doeth, these the Son also doeth in like manner" (5:19) (cf. 5:20-26; 8:19; 12:26; 14:7) --that is the Fourth Evangelist's philosophy of history.

We noted in the beginning that the word λογος occurs about 195 times in the Fourth Gospel. The attractive inference is that the little word so frequently on his lips expressed what was constantly in his mind, the idea, namely, that Jesus' life was a working out of what God eternally is. Jesus' life is necessarily a succession of "therefores"--his actions are pictures of the eternal nature of things, a law which expresses itself in a sequence of cause and effect. This idea, which is written into all the book, finds its first expression in the Prologue. Genesis begins, "And the earth wasand darkness was....and the...." The Fourth Gospel begins, "And the word was....and...." "In the opening of the Gospel John follows the style of the opening of Genesis, not in affectation, but with a symbolism natural to him, sympathetically describing what was 'in the beginning' of spiritual Being, as Genesis describes what went on in the beginning of material creation."¹

"The word was made flesh and dwelt among us." We have traced the Logos idea back to its Stoic origin. Yet the Logos of the Fourth Gospel is a far, far different thing from the Logos of the Stoics. The Stoic Logos is a cold and cheerless thing. The Stoics tell us to follow God--but give us no

1. Abbott: Johannine Grammar, p. 134.

clear idea of what God is; one cannot follow a vague conception. The Stoics lacked a definite demonstration of what God was, and they realized their lack. "Where will you find himwhom we have been seeking so many ages?" asks Seneca. And Plutarch wrote, "He is nowhere on earth, nor ever has been." "We ought to choose some good man," writes Seneca, "and always have him before our eyes that we may live as if he watched us, and do everything as if he saw." He recommends Cato, Laelius, Socrates, Zeno. Epictetus has the same advice: ^{1.} what would Socrates do? is the canon he recommends. In their eagerness for a God whom they could see, the Romans deified their emperors.

The Jews, too, had longed for a God whom they could see. The men of the Old Testament had looked forward to his coming, yet they saw him not, and could do no better than echo Job's pathetic cry, "Oh, that I knew where I might find him." To the Jews the Fourth Evangelist wrote, "For the law was given through Moses; grace and truth came through Jesus Christ" (1:17). Although it makes a good homily to contrast the legalism of the Mosaic regime with the freedom of the Christian, this is not the idea of the text. The Logos had always been in the world: "All things were made through him; and without him was not anything made that hath been made" (1:3). But now the form of His self-manifestation is different. The revelation came by Moses in the form of a law from

1. See Glover: Conflict of Religions, p. 72.

which the nature of God had to be derived, if at all, by inference. But in Jesus the Logos came in the form of a man, so that the ^{1.} χάρις and ἀλήθεια of God were plainly visible. In the past the Light was "continually coming" (ἐρχόμενον) to all mankind; it definitely "came" (ἦλθεν) in the person of Jesus.

Abbott notes that it was this which the author of the book--or whoever attached it--meant by the last verse in the Gospel. The exaggeration^{2.}, which in itself "combined the spiritual meaning of Philo with the hyperbolic expression customary among the teachers of Palestine," was trying to say this: "Law may be put into writing but Grace and Truth cannot. No, even if a world full of books were written, more books would still need to be written, and yet the Grace of the Father and the Truth of the Father--which were the 'works' of the Son--would remain unexpressed."^{3.}

II.

And now that the word has been made flesh, we see what God has done, is doing, and will do for the world; what He is like in His own nature. The Logos is not mentioned after the Prologue; some have on that account concluded that it is not an essential feature of the book. It is fairer to say that all the rest of the book is a working out of the Logos

1. Cf. Wendt: The Gospel According to St. John, note to p. 222; cf. Bernard: ICC on John, vol. I, p. 30: "Moses was only the Mediator through whom God gave the law; but Christ is Himself the source of grace and truth."

2. Abbott: Johannine Grammar, p. 306.

3. ib., p. 306.

idea. Having expressed his theme in the opening lines, he proceeds to show how the Word actually was made flesh, manifests itself in Life, and transfigures everything.

We noted in chapter I how great a person the Fourth Evangelist makes Jesus out to be, and what great things, according to the Fourth Evangelist, Jesus claims for himself: Jesus is nothing less than God and is very bold in presenting claims to his own greatness. Yet there is no book in the world which more thoroughly emphasizes the human side of Jesus: the Word actually was made flesh and dwelt among men. The Evangelist says the Father "gave him authority to execute judgment, because he is a son of man" (5:27), and in many subtle ways he makes us feel that He was a son of man.

The woman at the well recognized Jesus as a man: "Come, see a man, who told me all things that ever I did" (4:29). After the healing of the man at the pool of Bethesda, the Jews asked, "Who is the man that said unto thee, Take up thy bed and walk?" (5:12). The man born blind, when questioned as to the one who restored his sight, answered, "The man that is called Jesus" (9:11). The Pharisees, jealous for their sabbath, reply, "We know that this man is a sinner" (19:24). When Jesus enquired as to the reason for their stoning him, "The Jews answered him,....because that thou, being a man, makest thyself God" (10:33). Once at least Jesus refers to himself as a man: "But now ye seek to kill me, a man that hath told you the truth" (8:40). 12:34 is the only place in the Gospels where the ~~term~~ Son of Man is applied to Jesus by

anyone other than himself; several times in the Fourth Gospel he refers to himself as Son of man: 1:51; 12:23; 13:31; 3:14; 8:28; cf. 12:32. And what kind of man was he? He had the following human characteristics.

On one occasion at least he grew weary: Jesus "being wearied with his journey, sat thus by the well" (4:6). On three occasions he was "troubled": once when he found Mary and Martha all broken up over the death of their brother (11:33); once shortly after the triumphal entry: "now is my soul troubled; and what shall I say?" (12:27); and once just before the betrayal: "When Jesus had thus said, he was troubled in spirit" (13:21). Sometimes he asked questions, apparently for information: "Where have ye laid him?" (11:34). Instead of commanding the stone to be removed, he ordered the mourners to roll it away (11:39). Hanging on the cross, he thirsted (19:28).

This human Jesus was preeminently a man of courage. Recently in reading the Gospel through at a sitting, I was strongly impressed with this aspect of his character. His first public act, according to the Fourth Evangelist, was the cleansing of the temple: "he found in the temple those that sold oxen and sheep and doves, and the changers of money sitting: and he made a scourge of cords, and cast all out of the temple, both the sheep and the oxen; and he poured out the changers' money, and overthrew their tables; and to them that sold doves he said, Take these things hence; make not my Father's house a house of merchandise" (2:13-16).

Throughout his career his courage made him careless of public opinion. The Fourth Gospel represents him as in constant conflict with the Jews and in particular the Pharisees, guardians of orthodoxy, watchdogs of tradition. When "he left Judea and departed again into Galilee....he must needs pass through Samaria" (4:3f). That in itself was a mark of his courage, "For Jews have no dealings with Samaritans" (4:9). There he talked with a woman. Rabbis did not speak with women. And judging from the number of husbands she had had, this woman was not of a very high type. It is no wonder that the disciples, when they returned, " marvelled that he was speaking with a woman" (4:27). And yet to this woman this man spoke one of the greatest sentences in the history of religion: "the hour cometh and now is, when the true worshippers shall worship the Father in spirit and truth: for such doth the Father seek to be his worshippers. God is Spirit: and they that worship him must worship in spirit and truth" (4:23f).

At the pool of Bethesda, Jesus healed "a certain man....who had been thirty and eight years in his infirmity" (5:5). "Now it was the sabbath on that day" (5:9). The sabbath was the most sacred of all Jewish institutions, and the rules for its observance were the strictest in all the rabbinical lore. Though Jesus knew right well the conflict it would entail, he deliberately broke the sabbath of his people. A little bit later, he gave sight to the man born blind. "Now

it was the sabbath on the day when Jesus made the clay, and opened his eyes" (9:15). The result was further controversy with the Pharisees.

Several times the sublime courage of the man saved him from angry hands. The Synoptics relate (Luke 4:16-30) that, after his famous sermon in Nazareth, his fellow-townsmen took him to the brow of the hill and would have thrown him over. "But he passing through the midst of them went his way" (Luke 4:30). Several times in the Fourth Gospel he is represented as having done the same thing: "there arose a division in the multitude because of him. And some of them would have taken him; but no man laid hands on him" (7:44). On another occasion, after controversy with the Jews, "Some therefore of them of Jerusalem said, Is not this he whom they seek to kill? And lo, he speaketh openly and they say nothing unto him" (7:25f). After he had spoken "in the temple in Solomon's porch" (10:23), and proclaimed to the Jews his Messiahship, "They sought again to take him: and he went forth out of their hands " (10:39).

Discretion is sometimes the better part of valor; and when there is no point in remaining on the field, "he who runs away will live to fight another day." Brave as he was, the man Jesus did not run any unnecessary risks. The Fourth Evangelist relates that for a season "Jesus walked in Galilee: for he would not walk in Judea, because the Jews sought to kill him" (7:1). And when his brothers urged him to accompany

them to the feast he said, "Go ye up unto the feast: I go not up unto this feast; because my time is not yet fulfilled. And having said these things unto them, he abode still in Galilee" (7:8f). When the Jews would have stoned him in the temple, "Jesus hid himself, and went out of the temple" (8:59). When driven from the temple again, "he went away....beyond the Jordan into the place where John was at the first baptizing; and there he abode" (10:40). After the raising of Lazarus, "from that day they took counsel that they might put him to death. Jesus therefore walked no more openly among the Jews, but departed thence into the country near to the wilderness" (11:53f).

In the end his extraordinary courage drove him to Jerusalem and death. After the disturbance caused by the raising of Lazarus, as we have seen, he "walked no more openly among the Jews, but departed into the country near to the wilderness....and there he tarried" (11:54). Presently the Passover was at hand. "They sought therefore for Jesus, and spake one with another, as they stood in the temple, What think ye? That he will come to the feast? Now the chief priests and the Pharisees had given commandment, that, if any man knew where he was, he should show it, that they might take him" (11:56f). A cowardly man, indeed even a "prudent" man, would have stayed away on such an occasion. He could as easily as not have remained in the wilderness, ministering to the needs of those with whom he came in contact; he could have grown old and had

a family and sat around the fire in the evening and talked with the people he loved. But no; it was expedient that one man should die for the people.

Bravely, deliberately, this man goes up to Bethany. There a supper is made for him by Mary and Martha and Lazarus; Mary anoints him with an ointment whose fragrance has filled the whole world. This supper and this anointing must have caused one last fierce struggle between courage and discretion. Why go on to Jerusalem? It meant certain death. Why not quietly withdraw to some secluded spot and live to attend other suppers in the homes of devoted disciples and on other occasions have his feet anointed by adoring women? But he knew that his hour was come, and on the morrow he comes riding into the city on an ass, thus unmistakably claiming for himself the Messiahship of the Jews. Kings rode on horses; the King rides upon an ass. "As it is written, Fear not, daughter of Zion: behold, thy King cometh, sitting on an ass's colt" (12:14f). The multitude at once recognized this sign that he had done (cf. 12:18).

Finally, in the dark hours of his last days on earth, his friends forsook him, but his courage did not. He bids the disciples farewell, but adds, "Let not your heart be troubled: believe in God, believe also in me" (14:1). "Peace I leave with you; my peace I give unto you. Let not your heart be troubled, neither let it be afraid" (14:27). When "the band of soldiers and officers from the chief priests and the Phar-

isees" came out "with lanterns and torches and weapons" (18:3), Jesus boldly stepped forward "and saith unto them, Whom seek ye? They answered him, Jesus of Nazareth. Jesus saith unto them, I am he" (18:4f). So amazed was the heartless band that the Fourth Evangelist says, "they went backward and fell to the ground. Again therefore he asked them, Whom seek ye? And they said, Jesus of Nazareth. Jesus answered, I told you that I am he" (18:6-8). Ever thoughtful of his companions, and willing to face the blood-thirsty mob alone, his supreme courage is again demonstrated when he adds, "if therefore ye seek me, let these go their way" (18:8). Impetuous Peter, unwilling to let his Lord stand alone, rushes forward and at one fell swoop cuts off the ear of Malchus, the high priest's servant. Calmly as a man sitting down to a meal with friends, this man "said unto Peter, Put up thy sword" (18:11).

And then at the trial, when his nearest friends are warming themselves at the enemies' fire, "The high priest.... asked Jesus of his teaching. Jesus answered him, I have spoken openly to the world; I ever taught in synagogues, and in the temple, where all the Jews come together; and in secret spake I nothing. Why askest thou me? Ask them that have heard me, what I spake unto them: behold, these know the things which I said. And when he had said this, one of the officers standing by struck Jesus with his hand, saying, Answerest thou the high priest so? Jesus answered him, If I have spoken evil, bear witness of the evil: but if well, why

smitest thou me?" (18:19-23)

The world's bravest men are also its tenderest-- or at least in this one man perfect tenderness existed side by side with perfect bravery. He who dared to answer the high priest as a man of equal authority, stood by the grave of Lazarus and wept with those who wept (11:35). On learning that the man whose eyes he had opened had been cast out of the synagogue, excommunicated from the church, and expelled from his family, the great loving heart of Jesus sought him out and gave him a special message (9:35ff).

When the Jews took up stones to stone him, he said pathetically, as if himself yearning for sympathy and understanding, "Many good works have I showed you from the Father; for which of these do ye stone me?" (10:32). When his followers begin to desert him, Jesus again shows his yearning for sympathy. Turning to the disciples he asks simply, "Would ye also go away?" (6:67)--there is no compulsion, no effort to make them stay, but only a great human soul longing for sympathy. Among his intimates there is one who seems to have had a special place in his affections: "the disciple whom Jesus loved" (13:23, etc.). He had his favorite spots on earth: Bethany was a much frequented retreat. "Now Jesus loved Martha and her sister, and Lazarus" (11:5). On the night of the betrayal, Judas had no trouble finding him: "Now Judas also, who betrayed him, knew the place: for Jesus oft-times resorted thither with his disciples" (18:2). His last act on earth was an act of filial devotion. Hanging on the cross,

before death overtook him, he saw his mother and said tenderly, "Woman, behold, thy son! Then he saith to the disciple, Behold, thy mother!" (19:26f). His first words after the resurrection are, "Woman, why weepest thou?" (20:15).

Thus it will be seen that the Fourth Evangelist emphasizes the human side of Jesus considerably more than is generally supposed. Though there is no book that gives Jesus a higher place than the Fourth Gospel, there is none which lays greater emphasis on his humanity. In view of which, it is somewhat difficult to understand how Professor Angus could write the following: "It is somewhat surprising to find in this anti-gnostic gospel with its emphasis on the Incarnation how scanty are the traces of that humanity of Jesus which the author wishes to establish. His conception of history has been so recast into the categories of the Logos Christ that his gospel narrowly escapes Docetism, and escapes it in such a way that if the Fourth Gospel alone survived without the Synoptists we could not properly speak of the humanity of Jesus." ^{1.} ^{2.} Ludwig says of Jesus, "The key to his nature is found, not in his genius, but in his human heart." None of the Evangelists has revealed to us more of his human heart than the author of this spiritual Gospel.

We noted in the beginning that in the chronological scheme of the Fourth Gospel there is no place at all for the Temptation of Jesus. Immediately after John's witness (1:36),

1. Religious Quests of the Graeco-Roman World, p. 389.
2. The Son of Man, p. 16.

Jesus calls some disciples and sets about his work (1:37ff), making no reference to what the Synoptics describe as forty days in the wilderness, "tempted of Satan" (Mk 1:13; cf. Mt 4:1-11; Lu 4:1-13). "This bold omission," says Carpenter,¹ "is apparently due to a sense of the incongruity of presenting the Son of God who has come down from heaven, sharing the Father's knowledge and fulfilling his will, as exposed to temptation by Satan," and this is the explanation commonly accepted.² But it is quite the other way around. The Fourth Evangelist shows us that, just because Jesus was "the word made flesh", he was subject to temptation--only he does it in a far more subtle way than the Synoptists.

In the Fourth Gospel the temptation of Jesus is not represented in the theatrical fashion of the Synoptics; it is represented rather as coming in the way that temptations usually come to men: through the conflicts--sometimes subtle and almost unperceived, sometimes open and violent--between what a man ought to do and what he wants to do, between what he would like to do for the sake of the people he loves and what he ought to do for the sake of the Kingdom of heaven. In the Fourth Gospel Jesus does not go into the wilderness; he is tempted in the homes of men. In the Fourth Gospel Jesus is not tempted to turn stones into bread; he goes to the marriage feast in Cana, and the mother who bore him tempts him to use his power rashly. In the Fourth Gospel Jesus does not go up

1. The Johannine Writings, p. 239.

2. E.g., cf. E. F. Scott: The Fourth Gospel, pp. 38, 43, 172.

to the top of "an exceeding high mountain" and survey "all the kingdoms of the world, and the glory of them"; he feeds the multitudes and they attempt to "take him by force to make him king" (6:15). In the Fourth Gospel Jesus does not go up to the pinnacle of the temple; instead, his brothers urge him to go up to Jerusalem and make himself known prematurely. The Synoptics paint a still life picture of the temptation of Jesus; the Fourth Evangelist shows how it ran through his whole career.

III.

Finally, we have to note in this study of the spiritual Gospel, that it is the Fourth Evangelist who has spiritualized our whole conception of religion, and made it center upon a person rather than upon a book or a code of laws. The Fourth Gospel is an eternal protest against the hardening of tradition. There was danger that Christianity would limit itself to the Synoptic sayings of Jesus and eventually become as priest-ridden as Judaism. It is not the scriptures that give life, says the Fourth Evangelist (5:39; 6:63); it is the Person of Jesus. His Gospel stands as a perpetual protest against any reduction of Christianity to a system presided over by professionals. As Mr. H. T. Purchas reminds us, "By the side of St. Peter is placed another disciple who in every respect, except readiness for prompt and impulsive action, stands higher than the great Apostle."¹ Jesus, says the Fourth Evangelist, left with us the Spirit of Truth, and the Spirit is

1. *Johannine Problems and Modern Needs*, p. 71.

constantly leading us into new truth (16:12,13).

It is quite conceivable that, if we did not have the Fourth Gospel, Christianity would have become as much a religion of a book as Judaism. It is easy to see how professional scribes of Christianity could elaborate--and so invalidate--the Sermon on the Mount, just as the scribes of Judaism had done with the law of Moses. The law of the sabbath simply said, "In it thou shalt do no work" (Ex 20:10). The scribes made a list of thirty-nine kinds of work that were forbidden, and each of the thirty-nine had many subdivisions. Ploughing was one of the thirty-nine: you could ^{not} draw a chair across the ground lest it make a rut, for this would be a form of ploughing. Carrying a burden was forbidden; to walk with a crutch or a wooden leg was allowed, but to walk on stilts was not, since it was not the stilts that carried the man but the man that carried the stilts. Etc., etc.

Without the Fourth Gospel, the Sermon on the Mount might have been subject to such a reductio ad absurdum--as indeed it has been in the hands of literalists in our own day. The injunction, "whosoever smiteth thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also" (Mt 5:39), is a case in point. Men say that after you have turned the other cheek, and thus fulfilled the law, you are at liberty to do what you please to your antagonist. I have even heard a learned professor argue that the saying was not applicable to the ordinary encounter, but must have some special meaning, because it says if a man strike thee on the right cheek--in the ordinary encounter a man, being right-handed,

would strike first on the left cheek. Similarly, the injunction about the second mile could easily be interpreted so literally as to make it in fact a denial of what it implies.

But with the Fourth Gospel our religion is forever freed from such deadening literalism. The religion of the Fourth Gospel is a religion of the Spirit. Nothing is said in the Fourth Gospel about institutions, not even about the church. There is no emphasis on sacraments: the references to baptism are only incidental, and are chiefly to John's baptism. The establishment of the Lord's Supper is not recorded. "With his profound insight into the spiritual meaning of Christianity, John saw a danger in the increasing reverence attached to the outward rite of the Supper. The natural craving for something visible and material in religion had seized on the simple ordinance bequeathed by Jesus and invested it with a superstitious value."¹ Accordingly, no mention is made of it.

It is Jesus' own person that the Fourth Evangelist emphasizes, and it is this after all which ultimately concerns us. The externals of his life matter little--now. It is a matter of no great moment now where he went or what miracles he performed. It is his effect upon human beings, the impact of his personality, that interests us. And it is that which the Fourth Evangelist has given us. Lucian, in "The Way to Write History",² says, "The way to secure the reader's attention is to show that the affairs to be narrated are great in themselves

1. E. F. Scott: The Fourth Gospel, p. 122f.

2. Quoted by Strachan: The Fourth Evangelist &c., p. 67.

throw light on Destiny, or come home to his business or bosom!" The Fourth Evangelist has given us those things about Jesus which come home to our bosoms. "The gifted man," says Carlyle,¹ "is he who sees the essential point and leaves all the rest aside as surplusage."

The Fourth Evangelist is historically right in laying emphasis upon the personality of Jesus, because it is this, after all, which distinguishes the Christian religion from the other religions of the world. According to Mohammedanism, "no description of God is possible, or is possible only in negative terms,--'whatever idea the mind conceives, God is the opposite of it'.²" But in Jesus we see what God is like. And that makes our faith unique. If we point to any other feature of our religion, it can be duplicated in the non-Christian religions. If we point to our Holy Scriptures, the other religions have their sacred books. If we point to an infallible Bible, the Muslim claims for his Koran an even greater degree of infallibility--if it is possible to speak of degrees of infallibility. If we point to the moral excellence of the Christian system, the Confucianist will remind us of the ethic under which China long has lived. If we point to our conception of the oneness of God, the Jew will declare that his monotheism is purer than ours. If we point to the incarceration, the Buddhist will match our single incarnation with a whole succession of Buddhas. If we point to the resurrection, the mys-

1. The Hero as Poet.

2. Geden: Religions of the East, p. 827.

tery religions will show us a hundred gods who died and came to life again.^{1.} But no other religion can point to an historical person in whom dwelt all the fulness of the Godhead bodily. The Fourth Evangelist is perfectly true to the facts of history in emphasizing it as he does. There has never been any other of whom we could believe, "I and the Father are one" (10:30). Though we may not believe that Jesus stood in Solomon's porch and uttered those words, still, in his mouth, they have no sound of incongruity.

So wonderful is Jesus' personality that it transcends all standards of comparison. It unites things that are opposite: humility and what we have called Christological egotism. Yet no one has ever felt any incongruity in the picture. In the words of Dean Inge,^{2.} "the Church....has never found it difficult to reconcile these claims, and their unflinching utterance, with the fact that Christ is our pattern of humility. It has never been felt that His amazing pretensions were out of harmony with the rest of His character. It might have been thought impossible for any artist to portray a character in which humility and that which has always been associated with its opposite--the claim to surpass all others in wisdom and goodness--were perfectly united. But it has been done. We all feel that the character hangs together." It would be absurd for anyone else to say, "Follow me". But for Jesus it is not

1. These sentences were suggested to me by a passage in William Adams Brown's "Beliefs That Matter".
2. Cambridge Biblical Essays, p. 281.

absurd.

We saw in the beginning that the Fourth Gospel has a certain mystical strain. Jesus' personality is the fons et origo of this mysticism. "The mysticism of John....is not a subjective mysticism which absorbs the soul in self-contemplation and revery, but an objective and rational mysticism which lives in a world of realities, which apprehends divinely revealed truth, and bases its experience upon it. It is a mysticism which feeds not upon its own feelings and fancies, but upon Christ."^{1.} Mysticism is not unique ~~to~~, nor original with, Christianity. William James says that the mystical tradition is "hardly altered by differences of clime or creed" and that "mystical classes have....neither birthday nor native land";^{2.} he discusses its cultivation among Hindus, Moslems and Christians. The distinctive thing about Christian mysticism is Christ, and by his emphasis upon the person of Jesus the Fourth Evangelist has enabled us to understand the mystic paradox that it would be better to be in hell with Christ than in heaven without him.^{3.}

The Evangelist is historically right, again, in emphasizing the Baptist's inferiority to Jesus. Jesus was far greater than John. John was an ascetic who ran away from life. Jesus lived his perfect life in normal human circumstances. John's demands were only for justice; Jesus' message is a message of love. John insisted that every man have his due; Jesus gives

1. Stevens: The Johannine Theology, p. 239f.

2. Varieties of Religious Experience, p. 419; cf. pp. 400ff; for a discussion of Oriental mysticism, see Underhill: The Mystic Way, p. 21ff.

3. cf. De Imit. Christi, Lib. I, cap. 20 and Lib. II, cap. 8.

us far more than our due. John's was a fierce bravery which dared to face death; Jesus' is a tender bravery which dares to meet life. John would have taken the kingdom by violence; Jesus takes it by gentleness. The desert wild man fires the imagination; Jesus warms the heart. John was not afraid to tell the soldiers, the tax-gatherers, the rich man, and even a king what they should do. But it is only Jesus who can say, "Come unto me all ye that are weary and heavy laden, and I will give you rest."

The Evangelist, then, has not done violence to history in emphasizing the superiority of Jesus. While we may not believe that John was as self-effacing as the Fourth Evangelist indicates, still, in the larger light of history, he has set the men in their true light. The function of the Baptist was to bear witness to Jesus. As M. Goguel has put it,¹ "Ce qu'il y a ici entre le quatrième évangile et les synoptiques, c'est une différence de procédé, non une différence d'intérêt. C'est bien aussi le rôle de précurseur qui intéresse les premiers évangélistes dans l'histoire de Jean Baptiste, mais ils n'elaguent pas tout ce qui, dans la tradition, ne se rapporte pas directement à cela. Le quatrième évangile, au contraire, ne retire~~nt~~ rien de ce qui n'est, à ses yeux, que détail accessoire."

Finally, the Fourth Evangelist has given us this personality freed from all limitations of time and space, a

1. Introduction au Nouveau Testament, Tome II, p. 209.

personality that is as much at home in China or the Philippines, in London or New York, as ever it was in dusty Palestine, a personality that is as real and vital in the twentieth century as it could ever have been in the first. The Jesus of the Fourth Gospel speaks with ~~timeless~~ voice to the needs of men. And this is what the historic Jesus did also, "though the original message was given to Galilean peasants, under such forms as they could understand and remember, and not in the terminology of the Graeco-Jewish philosophy of religion."^{1.}

The Fourth Gospel is the first re-interpretation of Jesus after the people who knew him in the days of his flesh had gone from the earth. The Apostolic fire had died out. Christianity and Judaism had come to the parting of the ways. If Christianity were to survive it had to free itself from all local and temporal limitations. It was a crisis in the history of our religion: would Christianity go ahead as a sect of Judaism, as one of countless sects in the Roman Empire, or would it rid itself of everything incidental and accidental and become a world religion?^{2.} St. Paul and Matthew and the author of the

1. Inge: Cambridge Biblical Essays, p. 288.

2. For an interesting comparison of Paul and the Fourth Evangelist, see Stevens: The Theology of the Fourth Gospel, ch. XV, pp. 355-371. "Paul," he says (p. 358), "with all his argument and reasoning, only comes into a distant view of those loftiest heights of contemplation concerning God, where John habitually dwells as if they were the natural home of his spirit." "Paul is always seeking to argue out the truth, and to prove it from the Old Testament and from experience. John simply sees the truth and declares it, as if confident that those who have an eye for it will also see and accept it"--p. 355f. Strachan (The Fourth Evangelist, p. 116) compares Paul and our author to Moses and Joshua. "Paul, both religiously and intellectually, may be regarded as the Moses of Christianity in its world mission, who was permitted to survey the promised land of the Graeco-Roman world created by the meeting of East and West, but was forbidden to reap the entire fruits of conquest.... It was left for the

Epistle to the Hebrews had sought to show how Jesus was the fulfilling of the Law and the Prophets, and hence the Jewish Messiah. Since he was that, he was also Son of God and Savior of the world. But all this had little or no meaning to anyone not instructed in Judaism. Luke the Physician had written his Gospel for Gentiles, but his Christ was inextricably bound up with a Jew who lived in Galilee. Galilee!--could any good thing come out of that despised province? And what had a Galilean carpenter, even a Galilean physician who went about doing good, to do with a world as broad and wide as the Mediterranean?

It was a crucial moment in the history of the Christian religion. Into the breach stepped the Fourth Evangelist with his spiritual Gospel. He showed us Jesus in his cosmic significance. It is to him we owe the fact that the religion of Jesus survived. Henry Adams¹ says, "Neither art nor thought has a modern equivalent; only Heloise, like Isolde, unites." It is the personality of Jesus, as enshrined in the Fourth Gospel, which unites the Christian ages.

There is no emphasis in the Fourth Gospel on conduct, no practical precepts that one can fall back upon in the daily struggle. Yet there are principles which make detailed regulations unnecessary. Not Jesus' teaching but his personality is the norm for human conduct. Jesus' life is held up as ^a pattern of what God eternally is and does and wants. If we abide in

Fourth Evangelist, like a second Joshua, to go in and possess the land."

1. Mont Saint Michel and Chartres, p. 287.

him, we shall no more require rules of conduct than the branch does rules of growth. In vital union with the Vine, life and growth and beauty are inevitable.

It is the personality of Jesus which must be the basis of Christian unity. In the words of Bousset, "Whenever Christianity has struck out a new path in her journey it has been because the personality of Jesus has again become living, and a ray from his being has once more illuminated the world." If there is ever to be a reunion of Christendom it must be on the basis of a common allegiance to the Jesus of whom we hear in the Fourth Gospel. Men differ and must differ in the way they express their religious experiences. It is in a common source of Life that they find unity. The rivers in Eden were four, but had one head. So must it be with the stream of a living faith. One has suggested that the creed of a reunited Christendom will be, "I believe in God through Jesus Christ his only Son, our Lord and Saviour." That was the Fourth Evangelist's creed.

Abbreviations used in the notes are common ones: ICC for International Critical Commentary, HDB for Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible, ERE for Hastings' Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics, EGT for Expositor's Greek Testament. In a few places works are cited simply by the author's name, as for example, Macgregor for Macgregor, G.H.C., : The Gospel of John; occasionally in the notes titles are shortened, as for example, Angus: Quests, for Religious Quests of the Graeco-Roman Empire.

The books in the following bibliography are grouped according to the following scheme:

- I. Works on the Fourth Gospel.
 - A. Critical introductions.
 - B. General.
 - C. Works on special subjects.
 - D. Commentaries.
 - E. Expositions.
 - F. Homilies.
 - G. For the traditional point of view.
 - II. Works on related subjects touched upon in this thesis.
 - A. Towards the understanding of the author's religious experience.
 - B. On the mystery religions.
 - C. On Philo.
 - D. On John the Baptist.
 - E. Miscellaneous.
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- I. Works on the Fourth Gospel.
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